

Albania today

POLITICAL AND INFORMATIVE REVIEW / TIRANA

N° 4 (89) / 1986

THE YOUTH ARE AND WILL
BE THE INEXHAUSTIBLE SOURCE
OF THE NEW BLOOD OF OUR SOCIETY



Protecting people's health





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RAMIZ ALIA

**OUR YOUTH
HAVE PUT THEIR SHOULDERS
TO COMMUNIST WORK
AND DEDICATED THEMSELVES
TO THE WHOLE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY**

*Address at the great meeting
of the handing of the message of the youth*

DEAR COMRADES, YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN,

WHEN THE COMRADES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE YOUTH INVITED ME TO ATTEND THIS CELEBRATION, I FELT A GREAT JOY IN MY HEART. I FEEL THE SAME JOY MULTIPLIED NOW THAT I AM MEETING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE GENERATIONS OF THE VOLUNTEER YOUTH, THOSE WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED AND CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE SO MUCH TO THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION OF ALBANIA, NOW THAT I AM HERE AMONGST YOU IN THIS ENTHUSIASTIC AND BEAUTIFUL MANIFESTATION.

HAVING RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE, IT IS A GREAT SATISFACTION FOR ME TO BRING ALL OF YOU, THE NEW GENERATION OF OUR COUNTRY, THE WARMEST GREETINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY. IN THE FIRST PLACE, I WANT TO GREET THE VOLUNTEERS OF THE FIRST MASS ACTIONS WHO, WITH THEIR ENTHUSIASM AND THEIR SACRIFICES, INITIATED THIS VALUABLE TRADITION OF OUR YOUTH. LIKEWISE, I WANT TO GREET AND THANK IN A SPECIAL MANNER THE YOUTH OF TODAY'S MASS ACTIONS, WHO HAVE COME TO THIS HALL FROM THE RRËSHEN-MILOT RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION SITE AND OTHER PROJECTS, ALL THOSE WHO HAVE PUT THEIR SHOULDERS TO COMMUNIST WORK AND GIVE VIGOUR AND DYNAMISM TO THE ENTIRE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY. FROM THIS HALL I ADDRESS MY WARMEST GREETINGS AND MY BEST WISHES TO OUR WORKER AND COOPERATIVIST YOUTH WHO STAND IN THE FOREFRONT OF WORK AND SET A GOOD EXAMPLE IN ALL FIELDS, I ADDRESS MYSELF TO OUR STUDENT AND SOLDIER YOUTH WITH MY BEST WISHES OF NEW SUCCESSES AND VICTORIES.

The comrades of the Central Committee of the Youth did very well in organizing the relay of the mass actions of the youth which have been and continue to be a great school for all our young people. The relay of the youth through

the sites of the major mass actions undertaken by our young people from the first days after Liberation to this day, has enlivened our youth and prepared them for a new emulation, has strengthened even more their militant spirit and

YOUTH ON THEIR SHOULDERS TO TAKE AND GIVE VIGOUR AND DYNAMISM TO THE COUNTRY

*Meeting on the occasion
of the relay of the mass actions of the youth*

their love of work. By crossing our Homeland from end to end, the youth have seen with their own eyes the colossal contribution of the former generations of young volunteers and felt the vitality of the new generation of today and the great trust the Party has always placed in them.

The message you handed the Central Committee of the Party today is another solemn pledge of the young men and women of Albania that they will continue the course of mass actions with determination and strong unity. It expresses and synthesizes the powerful desires of our heroic youth, their vigour and readiness for creative work, their high awareness of the ever greater tasks that devolve on them.

The young people of today are the sons and daughters of those who waged the National Liberation War and carried out the reconstruction of the country, those who fulfilled the first five-year plans and laid the foundations of new Albania. They are not only the worthy heirs to the magnificent work of those heroic men and women, but also ardent followers of their revolutionary ideal.

The Party, our society, our people feel happy and proud about it. They are very happy that our boys and girls value and develop the lofty patriotic and revolutionary virtues of the participants in the glorious National Liberation War, the unyielding love of freedom and the spirit of self-sacrifice of its fighters, their high sense of historical responsibility for the fate of the country, their civic courage and personal bravery.

They rejoice at seeing the pure spirit and sound character of our youth, their high moral sense and their good behaviour, their great love for work, they rejoice at their cultured life. Love of Homeland, of the outstanding historical traditions of our people, of their freedom-loving feelings and their indomitable character, respect for the national culture, the mother tongue, the contribution the men of our soil have made to Albanian and European civilization, are deep-rooted features of all our young people.

It is the duty of the Party, the school, the youth organization, our whole society, to work tirelessly for these patriotic and revolutionary traditions inherited by the youth never to get



rusty, for the new virtues of the socialist ethics never to be affected, for the impetus of the youth never to be stopped. They should work tirelessly for each generation of Albania to leave its indelible imprint in the history of the country, to raise the glory of the socialist Homeland ever higher, to carry the communist ideal of their forerunners further ahead.

Dear comrades,

The Party received your valuable message in a sound internal situation which is characterized by unexampled enthusiasm and optimism. The strength of the moral and political unity of our society has been raised to a new, higher degree. Engaged in the movement of the banner-bearers of the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and in the preparations for the 9th Congress of the Party, our workers and cooperativists, our cadres and leaders, have set about work with self-confidence and are fulfilling well the tasks of the first year of the new five-year plan. Production plans have been or are being fulfilled better than at any other time.

Everywhere there is unshakeable confidence about the inexhaustible possibilities of our country for rapid progress. The spirit of initiative and self-action of the working people is growing, manifesting itself not only in technological innovations and improvements, but also in more efficient organization.

The good development of the economy and the sound moral and political situation have made the defence of the country stronger than ever. It is constantly at the centre of attention of the Party and in the sure hands of the armed people. At the same time, socialist Albania enjoys a good reputation, respect and sympathy among the progressive peoples and individuals throughout the world.

All these successes, dear comrades, indicate that, with their ever growing work and ever higher results, our people are marching resolutely on the luminous road of the Party according to the teachings of our legendary leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Throughout our struggle for the construction of socialism mass actions have been among the highest expressions of the enthusiasm, drive and determination of each new generation for the revolutionary transformation of our so-

*Cordial meeting of Comrade RAMIZ ALIA
with the youth of labour actions*



ciety. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always highly appreciated the great values of the mass actions of the youth. This not only for their economic profitability or merely for the organizational experience that is gained through them, but, above all, for their major political and educational values. Mass actions develop the spirit of initiative and emulation, of solidarity and collectivism, the spirit of sacrifice, the sound romanticism of the youth, pure comradeship and friendship. In particular, mass actions bring together young men and women from all about Albania and strengthen their friendship and are a school of revolutionary tempering. Through concentrated efforts mass actions contribute to the solution of various problems of the economy, especially those that have to do with its major construction projects. On the other hand, they give the communist education of the youth its attacking and fighting spirit, strengthen its close ties with the school of life.

From their mass actions the youth have returned with a richer experience of life, and many skilled workers and qualified specialists have emerged and continue to emerge from them. With their participation in mass actions our young people have closely linked themselves spiritually with the socialist Homeland, with people, with new projects to the construction of which they have contributed with their toil. Some hundreds of thousands of young people have contributed with their voluntary work to the construction of many projects of the five-year plan in mass actions on a national scale, and their example has always been a powerful impulse for the development of our society.

In the future, too, we will extend and increase mass actions, will broaden their scope in all fields of life, will organize and direct them even better, will consolidate them and transform them into permanent methods of constructive and educational work.

Dear comrades,

At every stage of the development of the country people are faced with particular tasks which put each generation to great and diffi-

cult tests. Usually the burden of the solution of these tasks falls on the new generation which, at each given stage, grows and becomes the main basis and creative force of the nation. And, of course, only that generation which has been prepared spiritually and mentally for its mission can carry on its shoulders the great burden history has charged it with, can carry the country forward.

Our Party proceeds precisely from this consideration when it demands and works for the new generation of socialist Albania to be educated politically and ideologically, to grow sound morally and strong physically. The Party wants all the young people to be interested in the present-day political developments and ideological struggles, in economic processes and cultural achievements. It demands, however, that this interest should never be superficial and passive, but, on the contrary, arise as an inner necessity and requirement of the youth to be acquainted with the present and to understand the future.

That is one of the reasons why the Party insists that the political and ideological education of young people at school, in the army, at work and everywhere else should never fall into learning for the learning's sake, but quench the great thirst of the youth to know and understand the world, to know and understand the laws of its development, to know where we have started from and where we are going to.

When we see what is happening today in the capitalist countries where millions of young people roam about jobless, where crime, drug addiction and mass corruption are wreaking havoc among the youth, where the horizons of the future are becoming darker and darker with each passing day, we understand even better and more profoundly the sound and secure life that the Party of Labour of Albania, with its great leader and teacher, Enver Hoxha, has created in our country, we see more clearly the prospects that have existed and will always exist for our boys and girls.

In socialist Albania there will never be «lost generations», there will never be young people emarginated from society, there will never be

insecurity about the present and fear of the future. The youth of socialist Albania is and will always be the inexhaustible young blood of our society, its future, a vivid force conscious of its mission, an invincible shield of the revolution and socialist gains.

Therefore, comrades, let us all, young and old, work together to defend and enrich our socialist life, to increase and strengthen the vitality of our working people, their fighting spirit, their readiness and determination to implement the line and teachings of the Party.

Under the leadership of the Party and guided by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the youth of our country and their militant organization, the Labour Youth Union of Albania, in the more than forty years of its free existence, have stood in the forefront of the struggle not only for the construction of socialism in our country, but also for the overthrow of the old customs which the past left us as its legacy, against the feudal world outlook and the moral distortions of the bourgeois society, against the confusion and degenerating influences of the present-day capitalist and revisionist world. The youth were the first to adopt, to defend and to perfect the norms of the socialist morality. The young men and women filled the front ranks of the fighters for the creation of the new man, freed from the prejudices of the old exploiting societies and the heavy ideological shackles of religion, for the creation of the man with an entirely free, civilized and cultured inner world.

Successes in this field are great, and are now known and tangible for everyone. But I want to point out that the struggle against the old ideologies and the alien manifestations is an uninterrupted struggle. Some negative phenomena, even though they have been overcome, still may crop up again under given conditions, in various forms and appearances. That is the reason why the Party has continuously called on our people to continuously and consistently combat the manifestations of liberalism and bureaucracy, of irresponsibility and indifferentism, the hankering after narrow personal interest, etc., which, if tolerated, become a favourable bed

for the birth and development of degenerating phenomena for socialism and the people.

Because of its very nature, because of the demand it has on the future, because of the political and ideological formation which it has, the younger generation does not fall in with these manifestations, therefore, while correctly appreciating the danger that comes from being accustomed to them, it keeps ablaze the ideological struggle against everything which comes into opposition to our communist ideology.

The most obnoxious disease which may infect the youth, especially the school youth, is that of seeking the easy way in life. Of course, in the beginning, complying with discipline and rules, the tiresome and persistent work needed for studying, for mastering knowledge and professions, the diverse restrictions the society imposes, etc., are not quite pleasant. But to try to find the easy way in life is no lead to success. Someone may succeed in eventually profiting something, may even find a cosy place, but this is short-lived. The society will always require and will always appreciate those who are the most devoted, the most hardworking, those with greater learning, with steadfastness and strength of character. Therefore, the youth, his parents and relatives, should think not for today, but for the great life which lies ahead.

The easy roads which lead to irreparable damage of character are not compatible either with the spirit of the communist revolutionary and militant, or with the proud nature of the Albanian men and women, with their indomitable pride and their aspirations to a dignified life without stains.

Our school, the youth organization, the propaganda of the Party, all the institutions which are engaged directly or indirectly in the education and formation of the younger generation, and the youth themselves should fight for the creation of correct conceptions and a correct world outlook about life, work and society. They must never submit to petty-bourgeois pressures and morbid sentimentalities. To defend the principles of the Party and the ethics of our society means to defend the younger generation, means to defend the cause of socialism in Albania and the future of our nation.

Our youth have a great thirst for arts and culture and are interested in the achievements made in these fields. They are the greatest readers of artistic and political literature, just as they are the most passionate admirers of music, painting, films, theatre, architecture, etc.

In all these cases, however, they are not passive consumers of the literary and artistic productions, as someone may suppose. The youth have a very intimate experience of and close contacts with the new, the beautiful, the perfect. Therefore, they have a right to demand from the masters of art and culture that they produce good works and creations which enrich the mind and cultivate noble feelings and sentiments, which make a correct explanation and interpretation of the present social phenomena, which illuminate the perspective. In literature the youth want to see how their own contemporaries work and fight, want to know the real positive process of development and the various obstacles that emerge. From literature and arts they want the inspiration and the support for their own growth, they want to make confrontation of and confirm their own ideas, they want to find the aesthetic fulfilment in them, but also they want new information which results from the deep-going analysis and the accurate summing up of the human relations in society.

The youth see every book, every artistic performance, every cultural activity as an important event and behave towards them in great earnest and with respect. Therefore, they cannot reconcile themselves to shoddy artistic works or to formality in cultural activities, to shallowness of content and lack of professional skill of their producers. This irreconcilability grows in proportion with the rising level of education and culture of our youth, with the growing acquaintance of them with the pearls of our national culture and the world progressive culture.

That is why our youth have the right to make demands for higher quality on literature and arts, for more solicitude and creative work on the part of the people working in the sector of culture. For their part, the youth must have their say courageously, both when it comes to

affirming the good aspects and when it comes to criticizing shallowness and routine, which still are noticed in some literary and artistic works and some cultural activities.

The recreation of the youth must be seen from this stand-point, too. This problem should not be underrated. There are some directors who not only do not fulfil the tasks assigned for the creation of conditions needed for the recreation of the youth, but regard it, if not with indifference, at least as a secondary matter.

Recreation is like culture. Just as there is genuine culture, so there is healthy recreation. And just as there is decadent and degenerating culture, so there is decadent and degenerating recreation. But the latter is not part of our socialist society, of our principles and norms. We have been and are for the healthy, cultured, varied and positive recreation. We want it to be both restful and inspiring, both pleasant and ennobling, both stimulating and mobilizing. Unlike the bourgeois world, we see recreation as a means not to hold in check the enthusiasm of the youth but to encourage them, not to «kill» their free time but to fill it with joy and happiness.

That is why just as the comrade directors of enterprises and schools, the leading comrades of agricultural cooperatives, military units and youth organizations have the right to demand that the youth work with discipline and zeal, so should they also think about the recreation, about sports and sports grounds, about libraries and books, about films and cinema halls, about television, relay stations and telephone booths, about picnics and tourist excursions, etc., etc., for the youth. Greater understanding and initiative are necessary in this question and the existing material base and the funds made available for this purpose by the state and society must be exploited better and more correctly.

The youth today go into life at a time when science and technique develop at a very rapid pace, when knowledge becomes rapidly obsolete and when great efforts are required in order to keep abreast of the time. Much will, persistence and great sacrifices are needed in order to keep

pace with the development which the present-day technical-scientific revolution imposes. Are our youth ready to cope with these demands, to respond to the imperatives which emerge in this field? I believe they are. All the social and material conditions which enable the youth to study science and technique with enthusiasm and effectiveness exist.

The socialist society, its Marxist ideology, the correct policy of the Party, have created the broad field in which every young person can develop his own talent unimpeded, and show his passion for science through facts of his work, and above all, it has created the conditions in which his contribution is recognized and valued fully.

When we speak of science, technique and new technologies, we have a comprehensive idea about them. Today these have entered every branch and are applied not by one or two individual people, but by masses of the people. There is no modern process of production, both in industry and in agriculture, both in construction and in communications, both in medicine and in any other field, which can be realized without special and qualified technical-scientific knowledge, just as these cannot advance without scientific creative work. Therefore, the better trained the cadres and workers, the more close their creative collaboration, so much more the work, science and technique will advance and progress.

The youth are ready to master and apply the scientific achievements and have no prejudices against them. They turn to the new quite naturally, just as they fight with passion and with devotion in order to master and apply them.

It is up to the adults to open up the road, to give correct orientations and guide to and infuse faith in the youth, to fight together with them for overcoming and wiping out the eventual bureaucratic obstacles to the will and passion of the youth. When the youthful enthusiasm is combined with living experience for the achievement of a definite objective, then great things can be done.

Dear comrades,

This meeting of the generations of youth volunteers was of great value. The experience of the older generations and their warm words are useful and encouraging for the younger generation of Albania. The contacts with the youth, however, are useful also for veteran volunteers. Everyone has something to profit from the enthusiasm, the energies, the drive and militant spirit of the youth.

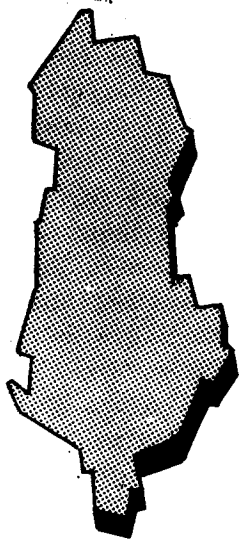
It was a special pleasure for me to meet you and to know what you think. The communists and all working people need the new ideas of the youth. These ideas bring animation and optimism, strengthen confidence in the future of the Homeland. This is natural. The generations inspire and support one another in order to carry forward the magnificent work of the Party, the socialist construction, the defence and flourishing of the country.

**LONG LIVE OUR HEROIC YOUTH!
LONG LIVE THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF
ALBANIA!
GLORY TO THE IMMORTAL WORK OF
COMRADE ENVER HOXHA!**

GREAT MEETING ON THE OF THE MASS ACTIONS

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND AND STATE LEADERS ATTEND

FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY



On June 6 thousands of young men and women, representatives of all the generations of the young volunteers, convened in the «Partizani» Sports Palace of the Capital on the occasion the relay of the mass actions of the youth, organized in the context of the 40th anniversary of the first national mass actions for the construction of the Kukës-Peshkopia road.

To attend these beautiful festivities came the First Secretary of the CC of the PLA and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, as well as other Party and State leaders, the members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Lenka Çuko, Hekuran Isai and Manush Myftiu, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, Foto Çami and Prokop Murra.

At the entrance to the Sports Palace, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades were welcomed by the first secretary of the Party Committee of the district, Piro Kondi, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district, Llambi Gegprifti, and the first secretary of the CC of the LYUA, Mehmet Elezi. A group of young pioneers of Enver present Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades with bouquets of flowers. At the same time, hundreds of young pioneers of Enver shake their red scarfs and cheer for the Party.

The hall resounds with the re-

joicing and enthusiasm of thousands of young men and women, workers and cooperativists, militarymen, students, veterans, young pioneers of Enver. In the background of the hall there are a huge portrait of the beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the symbols of the organization of the LYUA and of the mass actions of the youth, beside which it is written 1946 — youth of the everlasting flame of mass actions — 1986».

When Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades entered the hall all those present broke into enthusiastic applause and powerful ovations. Comrade Ramiz Alia meets the leading cadres of the organization of the LYUA. He shakes hands with and embraced groups of young workers and cooperativists, students and veterans.

«May you live as long as our mountains, Comrade Ramiz, at the head of the Party and the people!» the veterans wish him in one voice.

«Long live the Party, long live the people!» says Comrade Ramiz Alia.

The meeting organized on this occasion was declared open by the first secretary of the CC of the LYUA, Mehmet Elezi. «It is a great honour and ineffable joy, an expression of enthusiasm and a source of inspiration for every member of the LYUA,» said he among other things, «that we have Comrade Ramiz Alia and

OCCASION OF THE RELAY OF THE YOUTH

THE PARTY

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the other leaders of the Party and State amongst us today, the great day of the relay of the mass actions of the youth. The relay of the mass actions of the youth has started from and gone through the hearts of generations of young volunteers all over the country everywhere the brigades of the youth, together with the entire people, have contributed their toil and talent, their wisdom and knowledge.

«Working through mass actions, as Comrade Ramiz Alia instructs us, is being extended to agriculture and industry, to the sectors of education and the health service, to defence and everywhere else. The relay of mass actions of the youth is not simply the relay of the youth at work. It is a relay expressing our youth's boundless loyalty to the Party, the links with socialism of every cell of our new generation which shows the world and history that it will always march proudly ahead on the glorious road of Enver.»

In the centre of the hall emerge a group of young men and women who hold the red banners of the mass actions of the youth in their hands. The group of young people with the baton, which is made in the form of a small obelisc surrounded by rails, a symbol of the mass actions of the youth, hands for Comrade Ramiz Alia. Mimoza Teço, a student of the Higher Institute of Agriculture, hands it over to Comrade Ramiz Alia. He embraces the young men

and women who, at these moving moments, express to him their love for the Party and their determination to march always ahead on its road, to keep the spirit of mass actions always ablaze. Young members and veterans of the youth organization rise to speak. They pledge to the Party that they will score new successes on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of its founding and its 9th Congress.

«It is a very moving moment for us, veterans of the first mass actions of the youth,» says veteran Hajri Hoxha. «As previously in the war, under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our heroic youth stood constantly in the first ranks of the mass actions for the reconstruction of the country. Today we feel elated at seeing our wonderful youth carrying the relay forward. Both during the war and the construction of socialism we had you, Comrade Ramiz, at the head of the youth organization. The Party, Comrade Enver, had appointed you to this post. And the teachings of the Party, Comrade Enver and you, Comrade Ramiz, have followed us step by step, mass action after mass action. We, thousands and thousands of veterans of the first mass actions of the youth, are present in this relay of the present new generation and pledge that we will be loyal soldiers of the Party as long as our hearts continue to beat.» Then, the veterans come up to Comrade Ramiz Alia who

again greets them affectionately.

Amid the indescribable enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Ramiz Alia rises to speak.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech is frequently interrupted by applause and enthusiastic calls «Long live the Party!», «Long live Comrade Ramiz Alia!», «Long live our heroic youth!».

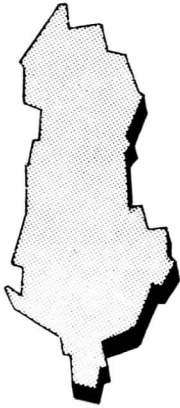
After Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech, the first secretary of the CC of the LYUA, Mehmet Elezi, thanks the leader for his warm words and high assessment of the new generation and pledges that through their uninterrupted mass actions our young men and women will carry out the instructions and tasks they are charged with.

Again Comrade Ramiz Alia comes to meet the representatives of the different generations and pupils, embraces the young pioneers of Enver and the youngsters who have surrounded him with expressions of warm affection.

This day on which young people and veterans of the mass actions forcefully expressed once again their great love and boundless gratitude for the Party, their determination to march always forward on the road on which the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, leads them in order to make our Homeland ever stronger and richer, as our beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, wanted it to be, will remain unforgettable in their memory.

**THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE
AND THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE
COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA, AND
IN THE DURRËS DISTRICT**

**FROM THE
LIFE OF THE
COUNTRY**



CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES, ATTENDS THE MILITARY EXERCISE



According to the program for the political-military training for the year 1986 a military exercise, with the participation of the effectives of the weapons and services of the different structures of defence, took place in the district of Durrës in the first days of July.

The exercise was carried out in the context of the implementation of the tasks set by the Central Committee of the Party for the all-round strengthening of the defence capacity of the country.

This exercise was attended by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Comrade Ramiz Alia, as well as other Party and state leaders, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Simon Stefani, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Hekuran Isai, Qirjako Mihali, as well as the First Vice-minister of People's Defence and the Chief of the General Staff of the Army, Comrade Kiço Mustaqi, and others.

In the zone of the exercise the Commander-in-Chief was met by leading cadres of the units participating in the exercise, as well as other cadres of the army.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades took their places in a position dominating the zone of the exercise.

He and the other comrades followed from close quarters the development of combat activities carried out by effectives of different weapons and services of the army.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades went to the command post where the exercise was led and where they were acquainted with the tactical utilization of artillery in the exercise. Comrade Ramiz

FROM THE COUNTRY

Alia asked about the work that is done with different weapons and services and gave instructions about increasing the manoeuvrability of coastal batteries and the effectiveness of fortifications.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia comes down to the fire positions, meets soldiers and cadres and has a friendly conversation with them.

«We are very glad to have you here, Comrade Commander-in-Chief,» said volunteer Xhije Pjeçi.

«Our people are clear about their road of socialist construction and defence of the country,» said Comrade Ramiz Alia. «We train in order to be able to defend our Homeland. Our country neither has had nor does it have any intention to go beyond its borders and grab a piece of land or deprive other peoples of their freedom. We do not wage such wars. Throughout their thousand year-long history the Albanian people have never waged aggressive wars against others. On the contrary, it is others that have attacked us, that have wanted to deprive our people of their freedom. However, we have known how to defend the freedom of our people and the independence of our country. That is why even now that we are building socialism, that are advancing and developing, increasing the well-being of the people and making our country more and more beautiful, we find time to train ourselves so as to be ready to defend our country. Our beautiful Homeland is a great example, because it is the only country that builds socialism, which opens up to the peoples new prospects, those of genuine socialism.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia went to the agricultural cooperative of Kryevidh where he was met with affection and enthusiasm by hundreds of cooperativists, veterans, young men and women and pioneers of Enver. A meeting with cadres, specialists and cooperativists of this economy took

place in a hall of the house of culture of the village.

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On July 8, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and other Party and State leaders attended the ceremony of the closing of the military exercise.

In the field in which the forces taking part in the exercise are lined up, Comrade Ramiz Alia receives the salute by the Chief of the General Staff of the Army, Comrade Kiço Mustaqi.

Accompanied by the Minister of People's Defence, Comrade Prokop Murra, Comrade Ramiz Alia reviewed the forces of weapons and services of the different structures of defence lined up there. The Commander-in-Chief gives the clenched-fist salute.

«Comrade soldiers and volunteers I salute you on the occasion of the conclusion of the exercise!» says Comrade Ramiz Alia.

A powerful hurrah explodes from the chests of the soldiers, volunteers and officers.

Amid the enthusiasm of those present Comrade Ramiz Alia rises to speak. He greets the participants in the exercise on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Defence Council.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's greeting is frequently interrupted by stormy applause and ovations: «Party — Enver — we'll be always ready!»

After the greeting, the order is given for the ceremonial parade to begin.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia meets again local and army cadres, inhabitants of the zone in which the exercise was carried out and leaves in an atmosphere of warm affection.

MEETING WITH ARMY CADRES ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF JULY 10 AND THE MILITARY EXERCISE

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Comrade Ramiz Alia, had a meeting with army cadres on the occasion of July 10, the 43rd anniversary of the creation of our People's Army and the conclusion of the military exercise in the Durrës district.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was given a heartfelt and enthusiastic welcome by thousands of citizens of Durrës, working people, veterans, youth and pioneers of Enver who had gathered at the square in front of the «Aleksandër Moisiu» cinema-theatre in Durrës. The pioneers of Enver gave him bouquets of flowers.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's emergence in the hall of the theatre was received with a burst of applause and ovations for our glorious Party of Labour.

Attending this meeting were also other leaders of the Party and State, Comrades Adil Çarçani, Simon Stefani, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Hekuran Isai, Qirjako Mihali, and the first vice-minister of People's Defence and chief of the General Staff of the Army, Kiço Mustaqi, and others.

The meeting was opened by the minister of People's Defence, Comrade Prokop Murra.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. Among other things he said:

I am very glad to meet you, Comrade officers, commanders and commissars of the units and detachments of our People's Army. Availing myself of this opportunity I bring to you and to the whole strength of our Armed Forces the most cordial greetings of the Central Committee of the Party and its best wishes for the discharge of the duties with which the people have entrusted you.

By celebrating this event we confirm and emphasize that link and uninterrupted continuity of our present-day army with the army which our great and glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, founded, raised and educated, the army which brought our people freedom and independence, which defended and continues to defend the gains of the revolution and socialism.

Under the leadership of the Party, our People's Army will preserve and further develop these outstanding traditions, the lofty virtues of the National Liberation Army, its ardent love for the Homeland and the people, as it has done until today.

The army and the people in our country are one and inseparable, linked by the same ideal and by the same interests, by the ideal of freedom and independence of the Homeland, by the ideal of socialism. The sons and daughters of the people, incorporated in the units and detachments of the army and in the other structures of our Armed Forces, are trained and tempered politically, ideologically, physically and militarily, have become masters in the use of weapons and the technique which they have. At the same time, everyone of them is a builder and defender of socialism.

The internal enemies of all colours have, at different times, tried to detach the army from the Party and from the people, to alter its profoundly popular character. But all their attempts have failed and will always fail. We are proud that we have an army which, is politically and ideologically elevated, purged of enemies, prepared from all aspects, an army which loves the Party and the people wholeheartedly and is ready to make any sacrifice. Therefore, we must conti-

nuously preserve, develop and strengthen these distinguishing features of our army, so that at any time and in any situation it remains closely connected with the Party and the people, as the loyal defender of the socialist Homeland and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

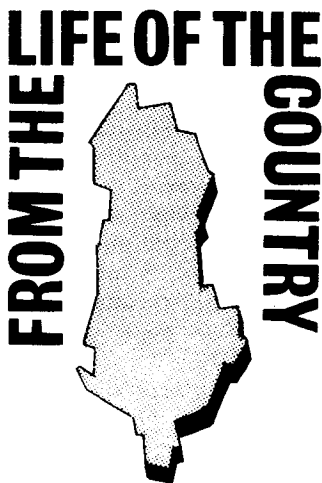
Our Army, all its weapons and structures, must be always prepared and ready to defend every inch of the territory of our Homeland, must be in a position to cope with any aggression and emerge victorious over enemies. We do not intend to attack any country, we do not intend to occupy any piece of foreign territory. But, in the same manner, we allow no one to violate our borders, to take even a narrow strip of our land. The army must be trained in this spirit from the military, political and ideological aspects.

With their characteristic wisdom and far-sightedness, our Party and our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, have given our army a clear political, ideological and military orientation which is embodied in the Popular military Art, and have equipped it with the necessary means and armaments.

After speaking about the mastering and best use of military means, about the preparation and qualification of cadres and soldiers so that they exploit with the maximum result the advantages we have over our enemies, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out:

It must never be forgotten that in war, just as at work, the man factor is decisive for the achievement of successes. Therefore, the Party must work intensively, passionately and in a creative manner in each unit and detachment for the ideological, political and military education of their contingents in order to ceaselessly strengthen the moral-political situation, to raise the consciousness of soldiers and officers, to sharpen their revolutionary vigilance, to raise ever higher their sense of responsibility before the people for the destinies of the Homeland.

After speaking about the international problems and the political-military situations that are developing in the world, about the aggressive policy of the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed:



In these conditions our duty is to sharpen revolutionary vigilance to the maximum, to ceaselessly strengthen combat readiness in all its elements, to prepare ourselves ideologically, militarily and economically as well as we can in order to be able to cope with any situation that may force itself on us.

In the end Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Ahead of us we have important events for the whole Party and for our people: the 9th Congress of the Party and the 45th anniversary of its founding. The whole people, the working collectives, the cooperativist peasantry and even the pioneers of Enver have mobilized themselves as never before. The results of the first months of this year are full of encouraging and promising indications of the realization of the plan for the year 1986, the first year of the 8th Five-year Plan. Following the last plenums of the Central Committee, an eruption of the inexhaustible energies of the broad masses of our working people, our heroic youth and our creative intelligentsia can be seen

everywhere. The increase of production, the fulfillment of four needs with the internal forces and resources, is a vital necessity in order to make our Homeland stronger and the life of the people happier. A strong economy is also a strong defence, therefore, the comrades of the army must make their contribution to strengthening the economy without harming combat readiness.

I express my conviction that the whole strength of our People's Army and all the Armed Forces will go to these marked events, as they have always done, in close unity with and loyal for ever to the the people and the Party, with high readiness for the defence of our socialist Homeland.

Forwards, comrades, towards new victories, in order to go to the 9th Congress of the Party with pride and with every success, as our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, wanted us to with all his heart.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was listened to with attention and was interrupted by frequent ovations for the Party.

THE SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE OF ALBANIAN MEDICINE CARRIED OUT ITS PROCEEDINGS

COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND OTHER PARTY AND STATE LEADERS ATTENDING. COMRADE ADIL ÇARÇANI GREETES THE CONFERENCE ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

On June 23-24, the Scientific Conference of Albanian Medicine, organized by the Faculty of Medicine of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana, in collaboration with the health institutions of the country, carried out its proceedings in the hall of the Higher Institute of Arts.

Attending the Conference were cadres, workers and specialists of the

health institutions of the capital and all the districts of the country, leading cadres of the ministries and other central institutions, organs of the state administration in the districts and others.

Those present met with applause and ovations the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of

the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, the Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party and Minister of Industry and Mining, Comrade Hajredin Çeliku, the Alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Foto Çami, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava, and other comrades.

The Conference was declared open by the dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Doc. Veli Zogu. He said that the Conference was also honoured by the participation of foreign students: Prof. Dr. Anastasatu Constantin, Corresponding Member of the Rumanian Academy and Director of the Institute for the Study of Tuberculosis in Bucharest; Prof. D'Avinio Michel from Sweden; Dr. Dietman Schultz, Director of the Kidney Transplant Section of Berlin's Charité Hospital of the German Democratic Republic; Prof. Dr. Ionesco Agrippa, Head of the Chair of Special Surgery of the Faculty of Medicine of Bucharest; Prof. Laszlo Mosonnyi of Budapest; Prof. Dr. Tibor Risko, Head of the Chair of Orthopedy and Traumatology of the Budapest University for the Specialization and Qualification of doctors; Dr. Theophil Rosenberg, Reader on Surgery at the University of Athens; Dr. Stauros Georgianos, Surgeon at the Piraeus Hospital; Dr. Kalman Polys, Head of the Research Section and Assistant-professor at the University of Budapest.

At the plenary session, the Minister of Health and Candidate of Sciences, Ajli Alushani, delivered the report **The Implementation of the Line of the Party in the Development of Medical Sciences in Our Country**. Among other things he said:

«The health service in Albania in the proper meaning of the word is a service created, crystallized with its class features and developed with its scientific and practical structure and physiognomy only in the years of the Party. True, before Liberation there were some hospitals and about

a hundred doctors who worked in the health service, but it could be called anything, except health service. The majority of the population was deprived of the possibility of 'acquiring' medical aid, medicine had no defined orientation or tasks, it was only a trade selling professional skills to make profit from the patients.

«The roots of the present-day health service go down to the time of the National Liberation War.

«After Liberation, despite unimaginal shortages in cadres, medications and equipment which 'matched' the disastrous conditions of the health of the people who were struggling with the grave economic situation of a war-ravaged country, our medicine began to grow as a system and service, to strengthen itself with cadres and equipment and to extend its network throughout the Homeland, guided by the scientific thought of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with a strategy and tactic of action which make us feel proud of its extension today and the laws of its development. Coping with the difficult and complex problems of the time, the far-reaching scientific thinking of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha set our health service clear objectives on the more important fronts of the protection of the health of the people, never for a moment losing sight of its tasks against the background of the tasks of other socio-economic sectors. Malaria disappeared with the drainage of marshlands, siphylis was wiped out and tuberculosis was greatly reduced along with the struggle against ignorance and backward customs for the constant improvement of the well-being of the people and the raising of their cultural level, infectious diseases were successfully fought against by combating their causes, the hygienic and epidemiological situation of the country was improved, infant mortality was lowered and the expectation of life of the Albanian was raised from 38 years it was in 1938 to 71 years it is today.

«Today we have one doctor per 730 inhabitants or 137 doctors per 100,000 inhabitants and one assistant doctor per 149 inhabitants or 671 per 100,000 inhabitants. These figures are comparable to those of the European countries, but taking account of the rates of increase of cadres and their dis-

tribution, we occupy one of the good places in Europe.

«Experience up to now indicates that 68 hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants are sufficient in the conditions of our country in which prophylactic institutions predominate and cover even the remotest villages. This is shown also by the fact that, although hospitalization with us is free, occupation of these hospital beds oscillates between 70-80 per cent. The organization of an ambulatory service as near as possible to the dwelling or working centres has had a positive influence in this direction. Today in our country there are 4,064 health institutions of which 797 with beds and 3,307 without beds; 85 per cent are in the countryside.

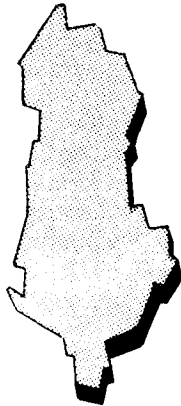
«In the structure of health institutions priority has been given to the mother and child and prophylactic sector. In the service of mother and child there are 2,690 consultation centres for mother and child, 2,604 crèches, the number of which is constantly increasing, and 710 maternity wards and homes. These institutions have all the possibilities for the early diagnosis of pregnancy, its scientific follow-up and the timely detection of eventual malformations, the delivery of all children with medical assistance and regular and systematic check-up on the condition of their health.

«For the protection of the health of the people there are also 3,307 polyclinics and ambulatories and 256 dental clinics. Ambulatory service covers work centres, kindergartens and schools.

«The period up to the 9th Congress of the Party will be a period of mobilization in all fields of the health service so as to cope with important tasks having to do with the protection and improvement of the health of the people. This Congress will set important tasks and open up new prospects for the health service, as for other fields, and our workers will multiply even more their efforts to carry them out.»

At the Conference were also read the papers: **Some Aspects of Heart Surgery in Our Country** by Prof. Petrit Gaçë; **The Development of Children in Our Country and Changes in Their Pathology** by Prof. Selaudin Bekteshi; **Achievements in the Field of Hygiene and in the Struggle against Infectious**

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Diseases and the Main Direction for the Future by Dr. Tahir Cenko together with Drs. Myftar Muça and Memo Boçi; **The Development of the Obstetrical-Gynecological Service and the Evolution of Scientific Thought in This Field** by Prof. Koço Gliozheni; **The Development of Cardiology and the Evolution of the Thought on Cardio-vascular Ailments in Our Country** by Doc. Ylli Popa; **Achievements of Albanian Surgery** by Prof. Ferdinand Paparisto; and **The Development of Neuro-psychiatric Sciences in Our Country** by Prof. Bajram Preza and Doc. Ylvi Vehbiu.

In the recess between the sessions Comrade Ramiz Alia met and talked with a number of doctors, professors and cadres of medicine. He congratulated the authors of the reports that were held at the plenary session on their high scientific level.

I think, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, that the organization of this Conference is a commendable initiative and that it will serve the further development of the scientific thought of our medicine. Let us not forget that we have, as you said, an entire army of doctors who work with dedication throughout our country, even in its remotest areas. For instance, he addressed himself to Doc. Ylli Popa, you mentioned in your report the high scientific merits of the Dhërmi village doctor. Now we have hundreds of such doctors who work with dedication and persistence in our countryside. We have now capable cadres in all fields. The important is for them to be not only capable practitioners but also zealous students. From this stand-point, I would like to say, Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed himself to Prof. Petrit Gaçe, that this Conference has great importance, because it not only records, but also will impart a vigorous impulse to the advanced scientific thought of our medicine. I just told the comrades that these important reports should not remain in the auditorium only, but be published in various forms and become accessible for all doctors and specialists.

In the continuation of his talk with them Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out

that, in the future, too, the Party would pay particular attention to the development of our medicine, because it has to do with the life of the people. So, investments in this field are absolutely necessary.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia took leave from all the doctors and cadres present at that cordial meeting.

Then, the Scientific Conference of Albanian Medicine continued its proceedings in 14 sessions at which 400 reports and papers prepared by more than 1,000 doctors and pharmacutists were read. Among them there were materials by foreign students as well.

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Amid the applause of those present the Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Çarçani, rose to speak at the Conference. After greeting its participants on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers, he said, among other things:

The organization and contents, the studies and concrete achievements that were dealt with at this Conference are clear evidence of the correct health and demographic policy followed and continuing to be followed by our Party of Labour and of the great efforts of the cadres, specialists and all the workers of the health service to constantly implement this policy which has raised the protection of the health of our people, the scientific thought of Albanian medicine to an unprecedented high level.

The vigorous, quantitative and qualitative development of our health service is closely linked with the deep-going revolutionary transformations of our economy and society in the epoch of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the process of the socialist construction of the country in these forty-two years after the Liberation of the Homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

At this Conference the achievements

and the experience of the workers of the health service so far were summed up on scientific bases and new paths were opened and important tasks set for the future.

The satisfactory theoretical and applicative level of the reports and papers at this Conference is indicative of the great work the Party has done and continues to do for the training and qualification of the health workers who, equipped with contemporary scientific knowledge, are capable of successfully solving even complex problems of the protection of people's health.

In socialist Albania, under the care of the Party, large investments have been made for the protection and improvement of the health of the people. A broad specialized system of prophylactic hospital and ambulatory services, which represents one of the major achievements of our health service, has been set up throughout the country. Health centres with the necessary medical personnel work at enterprises and every agricultural cooperative. Every village has its midwives and nurses. Particular care is taken of mother and child. The extension to 6 months of the pregnancy and birth leave, the extension of the network of preventive and treatment institutions to the remotest areas of the country and the constant improvement of the quality of service in them have contributed to our children growing healthy and sound, and to a perceptible decrease of infant mortality.

The achievements in the field of the protection and improvement of the health of the people would have been unimaginable in the past. The number of health institutions has increased more than 80 times over, and the number of doctors, who now are all trained in the country, has grown 35 times. Today we have one medical cadre of higher training per every 504 inhabitants as against one per 10,000 inhabitants before Liberation. Such grave infectious diseases as siphylis, malaria and others, acute social ulcers in the bitter past of the anti-popular regimes, have disappeared. Other diseases like diphtheria, tuberculosis, po-

liomyelitis, tetanus, which before Liberation represented grave social problems with fatal consequences, today have become extremely rare thanks to planned compulsory vaccinations of the entire population. Our medicine today applies on a large scale advanced methods of diagnosis and treatment, successfully performs complicated operations of a contemporary level, produces all the main vaccines and a large number of immunobiological preparates, blood subproducts, pharmaceutical products, etc.

All this, as well as the constant raising of the material, educational and cultural level of the working masses of city and country, the demographic policy our socialist state has followed and continues to follow, the medical service free of charge, its extension throughout the country and the constant improvement of its quality have resulted in the growth rate of the population being 3-5 times higher than that of the other countries of Europe, and in the population of our country reaching the 3 million figure, as against one million it was in 1944. The expectation of life of the population has almost doubled, the average age of the population is under 26 years and young age groups predominate in its structure.

These major achievements were made a reality by the Party, its correct line and the life-giving teachings of the glorious and unforgettable leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our people are proud of these successes, but you, the cadres, specialists and workers of the health service, who have made an invaluable contribution to their attainment, have the right to feel just as proud.

In the future, too, the Party and our people's power will have at the centre of attention the problems of the health of the people, because for them there is no higher ideal than care for man. Relying on the results achieved so far, on the experience gained and on the great possibilities that will be created through the further strengthening of the economy and the whole social development of the country, in the years of this five-

year plan the health service will be strengthened with a larger material and technical base so as to be able to respond ever better to the new qualitative demands made on it. Other major investments will be made in the building of new health institutions, the enlargement and improvement of the existing ones and their completion with modern medical equipment more and more with each passing year. Work for the training, qualification and specialization of medical cadres will be raised to a higher level.

The great historical victories scored in the field of the health service under the guidance of the Party constitute a sure basis for a rapid advance in the successful solution of all the problems that arise in the protection and constant improvement of the health of the people.

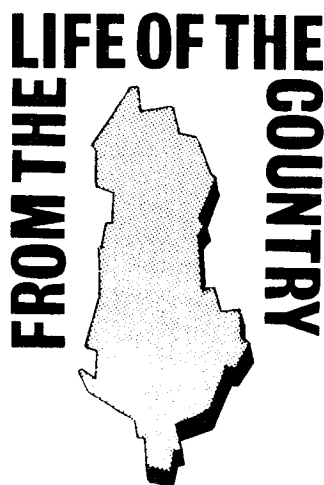
After speaking about a number of tasks facing our medicine today and in the future, Comrade Adil Çarçani went on,

The very important problems dealt with at this Conference, the exchanges of opinions that took place and the conclusions that were reached here, open new prospects of work for the organs and all the workers of the health service. In the healthy revolutionary situation that exists everywhere in our country today, participating in the general drive and enthusiasm of the working masses for the implementation of the major tasks set by the Party and the leader of the Party and our people, Comrade Ramiz Alia, they will certainly raise their service to the people, both in extension and quality, to a higher level.

On behalf of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers I congratulate all the comrades that with their scientific work have made an important contribution to the successful conclusion of this Conference and wish you and all the workers of the health service new and greater achievements in order to meet the 9th Congress of the Party and the 45th anniversary of its founding with new achievements in the field of the protection and the constant improvement of the health of the people.

CONCERT WITH EXTRACTS SELECTED FROM THE GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THE MAY 1986 CONCERTS

**COMRADE RAMIZ ALIA AND OTHER LEADERS OF
THE PARTY AND STATE ATTENDING**



For some days in the Capital the May Concerts were organized by the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district of Tirana on the occasion of the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 9th Congress. The concerts were a beautiful manifestation of our arts, of their irresistible development and flourishing, of their spread among the masses in the years of the Party. On 22 May, in the hall of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, a concert was given, featuring selected extracts from the groups participating in these concerts.

The concert was attended by Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and by Comrade Adil Çarçani, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Hekuran Isai, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Çami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Çërrava, secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Piro Kondi, first secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Tirana, and by members of the Central Committee of the Party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Government.

The entrance of Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other leaders of the Party and State into the concert hall was received with fiery applause and ovations of the working people of work and production centres, central departments, various institutions, repre-

sentatives of the central organizations of the masses, working people of the sector of art and culture, armymen, young men and women, present in the hall.

Comrade Ramiz Alia gave them a warm greeting.

The songs which opened the concert, «With you for life», «The Great Message», which were interpreted with a high technical level and with warm feeling by the joint chorus and soloists of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Ensemble of Folk Songs and Dances, and the Artistic Ensemble of the People's Army, were dedicated to our glorious Party, the unforgettable beloved leader of our Party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to the firm determination of our people to march always on the brilliant road of socialism.

The festive overture, «Victorious to Congresses», the song «Banner-bearers of Enver», sung by the male group of the Artistic Ensemble of the People's Army, which was dedicated to the majestic work and successes of the working masses in the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, were immediately applauded.

There was freshness and great vividness in the performance of the amateur dancers of the Palace of Culture, the cooperativists, the «Migjeni» artistic enterprise, the vocal group of the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor combine, the soloists of the artistic group of the «Stalin» textile combine, who sang and danced with great skill.

The house was full of emotions and deeply impressed by the song

«Argjiro, What a Marvellous Son You Gave Birth To», which was dedicated to Comrade Enver Hoxha, was interpreted by Irini Qirjako and the po-

lyphonic group of the Ensemble of Folk Songs and Dances.

At the end of the concert, all the artists came out on the stage and

the whole house applauded and cheered enthusiastically for the Party of Labour, its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

INAUGURATION OF THE NEW IRRIGATION WORK OF KAKAVIJA IN THE REGION OF UPPER DROPULL

In the framework of the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 9th Congress, the new irrigation project of Kakavija was added to the network of irrigation which covers the whole flowering plain of Dropull, in the district of Gjirokastra. The working people of the enterprise for land improvement and flood protection, assisted by cooperativists and working people from the town, completed the project 7 months ahead of schedule, thus carrying out in practice the instructions which Comrade Ramiz Alia gave them during his last visit in October 1985 there. This project will improve irrigation in one thousand hectares of land in the agricultural cooperatives of Vrisera and Sofratika. Its construction involved over 1,600 cubic metres of concrete casting, 300 thousand cubic metres of earth removed by means of machinery, including the opening of galleries in difficult terrain and under the bed of the Drino River, in great depth and in rocky formations. This summer season it will supply the area with over 5 million cubic metres of water.

On May 24, on the occasion of the inauguration of this project, hundreds of cooperativists, veterans, young men and women, pioneers of Enver from all the villages of the region of Dropull gathered in the plain of Kakavija, at the place where its main canal passes. They came to this meeting place full of boundless love and gratitude for the Party and the glorious work of the immortal, beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who loved them so much and continuously devoted his attention to

the ceaseless development and progress of the region of the minority people abreast of the whole country. They came with their determination to march always ahead, in steel unity around the Party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Present at this joyous event were Comrade Foto Çami, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission, Vitori Çurri, vice-chairman of the presiding committee of the People's Assembly, Spiro Lëngu, member of the Central Committee of the Party.

Amidst the enthusiasm and applause of those present, the floor was taken by Comrade Foto Çami who brought to the cooperativists and all the people of Dropull the most cordial greetings of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Ramiz Alia, personally.

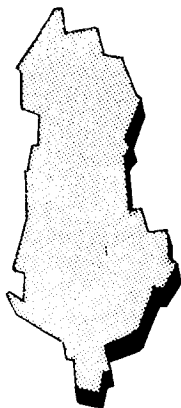
Among other things, Comrade Foto Çami said: «The joy and enthusiasm which has burst out here, at the square of Kakavija today, is an inseparable part of the joy and enthusiasm which characterizes the whole life of our country. It is beautifully harmonized with the revolutionary drive which includes all our working masses who have thrown themselves into an all-out attack and are working with unprecedented enthusiasm for the implementation of the tasks set by the 13th and 14th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party. Our whole people, participating in the powerful movement 'Banner-bearers of the implementation of the teachings

of Comrade Enver Hoxha', are up on their feet in order to transform this year into a year of new victories and successes.» Then, he continued speaking about the miserable condition of the minority people in the past and pointed out the staggering socialist transformations that have been made under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in the years of the people's state power, especially in this region.

«Dropull, more rapidly than many other regions of our country, has realized a series of transformations and seen to the building of economic and social projects which are connected with and have a direct influence on the improvement of the people's living. The Party has worked persistently and has created the conditions necessary for the people of the Greek minority to enjoy equal rights with all the Albanian people, has recognized their right to use their mother tongue, to have their own schools, to develop their cultural traditions, and has given them equal political and economic rights, sanctioned by the Constitution and implemented in practice. In our country there is no restriction, no differentiation between the people of the Greek minority and the Albanians, who fight like real brothers for the further strengthening and flourishing of their common Homeland, socialist Albania».

After speaking about some problems of the foreign policy, Comrade Foto Çami said: «We are happy that our relations with Greece are proceeding on the good road, which corresponds to the wishes, desires and interests of two neighbouring friendly peoples. With Greece we have no conflict, and the various problems left over from the past have been solved and are being solved in the spirit of understanding and cooperation. In the atmosphere which is being created at present there are possibilities for the development of bilateral relations in different fields of reciprocal interest. We hope and wish that the practice of exchanges applied hitherto

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in the field of trade, culture, science and technology and communications, and in human contacts on both sides of the border, is extended and becomes a sound base for the strengthening of friendship and collaboration between our two countries, for peace and security in the Balkans.»

Comrade Foto Çami's speech was often interrupted by fiery applause and cheers. «Party, Enver — we are always ready!», «Long live Comrade Ramiz Alia!»

The ceremony continued with the distribution of various orders and medals the Presidium of the People's

Assembly awarded to some managers and working people of the land improvement and flood protection enterprise.

Amidst the joy of those present, Comrade Foto Çami cut the ribbon of inauguration.

There was great joy among the people of Dropull, the pioneers of Enver, the young and the elderly people. They expressed this joy in the concert which was given by the best folklore groups of the region, in which they sang to the Party which raised them from darkness to light, from slavery to freedom.

INAUGURATION OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE IRRIGATION WORK AT MBISHKODRA

The completion of the second phase of the irrigation work in Mbishkodra, with a derivation from the lake of the Vau i Dejës hydro-power plant, is one of the labour actions undertaken in recent months, and which was crowned with success, in the district of Shkodra in the framework of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 9th Congress. The important tasks set by the 13th and 14th Plenums of the CC of the Party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia served as an encouragement and inspiration for commissioning this new project ahead of schedule. Working with the method of action, in the conditions of a difficult terrain, a large volume of work was done, including the digging of 560 thousand cubic metres, the setting up of 47 structures and 420 metres of bridges and conduits, the casting of 11 thousand cubic metres of concrete. As a whole there are 28.1 km of main canals and 15 km of secondary canals, with a total flow capacity of 10 cubic metres per second. This project increases the irrigation capacity to 1,500 hectares of land and improves an additional 5,000 hectares of land in this zone.

On June 1, in the village Mes of the agricultural cooperative of Poshtriba, the ceremony of the inauguration of the second phase of this project was organized with the participation of Comrade Muho Asllani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Shkodra, Comrade Prokop Murra, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of People's Defence, Farudin Hoxha, minister of constructions.

The meeting organized on this occasion was opened by Comrade Muho Asllani who stressed that the inauguration of this project — a valuable gift of the Party — will serve to increase the mobilization at work for the fulfilment of the tasks of this year on all fronts of agricultural production.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present, the floor was taken by Comrade Prokop Murra, who greeted the meeting on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, personally. «For Mbishkodra,» said Comrade Prokop Murra among other things,

«water has always been a dream which the Party made a reality. Many years before it brought the crystal drinking water from the Alpine founts to these parts, and our great and unforgettable teacher and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, raised his first toast with a glass of water.»

After speaking about the great work which was done for the building and commissioning of this project, which will help the cooperatives of the zone of Mbishkodra to develop their agriculture and livestock-farming at more rapid rates, to increase yields and

incomes and to make the life of the cooperativists still more prosperous, Comrade Prokop Murra said in conclusion: «This year is a marked year full of important events. After the study of the materials of the 14th Plenum, our whole people have mobilized themselves as never before in order to turn the year 1986, the first year of the 8th Five-year Plan, into a year of new drive at work for the realization of the tasks set by the Party. Ahead of us we have the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 9th Congress, and as is

the tradition of our people, we will go to these marked days with still greater achievements in all fields. Once again I congratulate you on the completion of this new project and wish you ever greater successes in the fulfilment of the tasks which the Party and our General Commander, Comrade Ramiz Alia, have assigned to us.»

Comrade Prokop Murra's speech was often punctuated by applause and fiery ovations for the Party, its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

ENTHUSIASTIC CELEBRATION OF THE 42nd ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORIC CONGRESS OF PËRMET

On May 24, in the revolutionary atmosphere of the jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party and its 9th Congress, the people of the district of Përmet celebrated with joy and enthusiasm the 42nd anniversary of the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress, the historic assembly which laid the foundations of our people's state power. Forty-two years ago, in the liberated town of Përmet, the legitimate representatives of the Albanian people, who came from the bloody battlefields for the liberation of the Homeland, under the leadership of the General Commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, sanctioned the will of the people for the creation of the Albanian state of people's democracy. The inhabitants of Përmet expressed their respect for the immortal work of the unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, their boundless love and gratitude for the Party, its Central Committee, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, their joy over the successes achieved in the attainment of the objectives set in the movement «Banner-bearers of the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha».

At 10 hours a.m. the town square became a rallying place with the

participation of thousands of working people of work and production centres, ex-delegates, ex-partisans, members and relatives of martyrs' families, armymen, young men and women, and pioneers of Enver.

Attending the rally were also the secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava, the minister of Foreign Trade, Shane Korbeci, guests, leading cadres of the Party and State organs from the districts of Kolonja, Berat, Skrapar, Gjirokastra, Tepelena and Saranda.

The rally was greeted on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and on behalf of the beloved leader, Comrade Ramiz Alia, personally, by Comrade Vangjel Çërrava.

«The 24th of May 1944,» said he among other things, «has been written in golden letters on the emblem of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The Congress of Përmet will remain in the history of our country as the crowning of all centuries-long efforts of the Albanian people, as the realization of their age-long dreams and aspirations. This congress,» he continued, «is a component part of the National Liberation War, led by the legendary leader, Comrade Enver

Hoxha, which finally decided the fates of Albania, gave the people real freedom and opened the road of advance before them. It has remained and will remain in the history of our country as the congress which gave definitive solution, in favour of the people, to the question of the state, as the congress which founded the first Albanian state of people's democracy.»

After speaking about the importance of the historic decisions of the congress, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava dwelt on the great contribution made by the inhabitants of the district of Përmet during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and in the period of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. He also spoke about the successes achieved in the implementation of the tasks set by the 13th and 14th Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and the instructions given by Comrade Ramiz Alia in his visits of different districts of the country.

Comrade Vangjel Çërrava's speech was interrupted by applause and cheers for the Party. The mass rally sent a telegram to the Central Committee of the Party, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Then, a visit was made in the museum-hall where 42 years ago the historic Congress of Përmet held its proceedings. Homages were paid to the martyrs' cemetery of the district. In the hall of the district Party Committee, Comrade Vangjel Çërrava held a meeting with the martyrs' mothers and members of their families.

The celebration of May 24, proceeded in a joyous atmosphere.

ARCHITECT OF THE GREAT OF THE PEOPLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER

*The experience of the Party and our struggle
show that even a small country like Albania can win its freedom
and national independence, build the new society and
carry it forward when it is
led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party*

THE PROBLEMS OF THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE AND OF THE STATE POWER, OF THEIR CREATION AND CONSOLIDATION, OCCUPY A CENTRAL PLACE IN THE THOUGHT AND ALL-ROUND ACTIVITY OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA. THESE TWO WERE AMONG THE QUESTIONS THAT HAD TO BE SOLVED IN THE COURSE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN ALBANIA.

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA WAS THE FIRST AMONG THE ALBANIAN COMMUNISTS TO UNDERSTAND AND PUT FORWARD THE NEED FOR UNITING THE PEOPLE AROUND THE PARTY, TO WORK OUT THE PLATFORM FOR THIS UNITY, TO ORGANIZE AND DIRECT ALL THE WORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER.

In a number of Works, and especially in the book *Laying the Foundations of the New Albania*, Comrade Enver Hoxha has described the road followed by the Party, the work and heroic struggle it has done to achieve the unity of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front, to set up and organize the new people's state power.

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The grave situation created with the occupation of Albania by fascism brought the question of national liberation to the fore, and hence, put on the order of the day the unity of the patriotic and freedom-loving

forces of the country in a single front of struggle. A small country with little material and human resources, Albania could oppose fascist Italy and Germany, which ranked amongst the most powerful states of that time, only by uniting its people. It is the merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha to have orientated the Party on to this road. An outstanding Marxist and ardent patriot, he brought about a radical change in the mentality that existed in Albania up till that time, when even learned people thought that the freedom and independence of the country depended much on the external forces. The new revolutionary thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha that the people and their united forces are invincible lay at the foundation of the policy of the

Party in the revolution and the socialist construction of the country.

The problem of what this unity of the Albanian people would be and how it would be realized was not that simple. There was a vast historical experience which showed that, with their united forces, the Albanian people had faced up to numerous enemies. There was also the experience of the class battles of the proletariat led by the communist parties in different countries of the world. There were also the directives of the Comintern about the anti-fascist popular front. All these experiences were very valuable, but in the new specific situation of Albania they could not be applied mechanically. The rare merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha lies in it that, while taking what was valuable in these experiences, he knew how to provide a clear answer and correct solution to such acute questions as had to do with the way of uniting the people, with the forces that had to be united, with the form of organization of this unity and the force that would lead it.

He conceived the unity of the people as a great militant unity which would be realized not from above,

T UNITY

NT AND FOUNDER

by **LEKA SHKURTI**

as a result of talks or coalitions among chiefs. The National Liberation Front would be created as a political organization including all the honest and patriotic people, all those who placed the freedom and independence of the country above everything, regardless of political and ideological convictions, classes and social strata, religious and regional differences. Essential in this concept is that the Communist Party of Albania, which had shown itself capable of assuming such historic tasks, should lead the war and Front. With the platform Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward at the Conference of Peza, in which these great ideas were exhaustively worked out, the Party clearly defined the road to achieve unity, to organize and mobilize the people in struggle against the fascist occupiers and local traitors.

To Comrade Enver Hoxha goes the credit of not only providing a clear idea of the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, but also of directly leading its realization in practice. This presented many and various difficulties. In certain circles of patriots and communists there existed the idea that there could be no talk of a Front which should unite the people when other political parties did not exist. Opposing this wrong idea of a social-democratic spirit and character. Comrade Enver Hoxha explained and provided arguments to prove that precisely the absence of different political parties was a factor which favoured the union and organization of the people in a single front of struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania, as the only political for-

ce which expresses and defends the vital interests of the people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha directed the great work of the Party to overcome the obstacles raised by the regional and religious divisions created by the exploiting classes and to dispel the many illusions created by the occupier to justify its occupation, to refute the old views which divided the town from the countryside and the working class from the peasantry, to ensure the participation of the broad strata of the population: the youth, the women, the patriotic intelligentsia, the honest nationalists and patriots, in the war and the Anti-fascist National Liberation Front.

Within a short time and in a creative manner, Comrade Enver Hoxha, being at the head of the Party, realized such a unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, which, in its extension and compactness, organization and political consciousness, had no precedent not only in the history of our people but also in that of many other countries. Here it is important to point out the fact that on the basis of the thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha our working class, although small in numbers and without a long tradition in the class struggle, linked itself in a close alliance with the working peasantry which made up the overwhelming part of the population, and became its leader. This alliance was and remained the unshakeable foundation of the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, of their unity around the Party, of the strength of the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat that was esta-

blished in Albania. «Our steel unity,» Comrade Ramiz Alia said, «was not founded on pathetic appeals but on the war... The people and the Party were not united either through agreements or treaties, or alliances based on passing circumstances, but on the lofty aims for the period of the war and the future.»¹

Just as outstanding is the role of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the process of the strengthening and defence of the unity of the people and the Front. The internal and external enemies made many attempts at dividing the people and undermining their unity in the National Liberation Front, especially at weakening the trust of the masses in the Communist Party of Albania, and its correct line. Certain political organizations, such as Balli Kombëtar, which was led by the most reactionary elements of the exploiting classes, were organized as an opposition to the National Liberation Movement which was led by the Party, because in the unity of the people and their armed struggle they saw a threat to their dominant class positions.

The policy of the Party towards these organizations, which was worked out by Comrade Enver Hoxha, was a wise and prudent policy. It was aimed at drawing Balli Kombëtar into the joint war against the occupier and, in the course of this war, to expose its anti-national and anti-popular aims, to bring the misguided people to see the truth and isolate the chiefs of reaction. When Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti made common cause with the occupier and together with it undertook armed actions against the people's war and

the National Liberation Front, the Party adopted a clear-cut and resolute stand which led to their defeat as political and military forces.

Wise and far-sighted were also the orientations of Comrade Enver Hoxha about the stand to be taken towards the Anglo-American allies, who strove, as the saying goes, to cast the stone and hide the hand. He constantly instructed the Party that the foreign envoys should in no way be allowed to interfere in our internal affairs and that we must be always vigilant towards them. This correct stand foiled all the Anglo-American attempts to divert the National Liberation Movement and bring it under their control, to prevent the great unity of the people under the leadership of the Party and impede the setting up of the new people's state power.

Unlike the wars of the Albanian people in the past, the Anti-fascist National Liberation War had a single and real political leadership, the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania. This was the essential element which gave it the character of a broad people's war and which brought Albania its major historic victory, genuine freedom and national independence, the establishment of the people's state power and the setting out of the country on the road of socialism. The principal role in the successful solution of this key problem was played by Comrade Enver Hoxha who knew how to guide and lead the Party on the Marxist-Leninist road, so that it placed itself at the head of the people and became the heart of the National Liberation Front and War. The Party did not share its leadership and the state power with anyone, it did not allow its leading role to be merged or diluted in the Front. It is the great merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha to have preserved the independence and identity of the Party in the Front, to have rejected with proletarian intransigence any opportunist compromise that the enemies of the Party and people wanted it to enter into.

With the liberation of Albania, the Party and the people were faced with

new and great problems. The country had to be rebuilt from the destructions of the war and emerge as soon as possible from the poverty and profound backwardness it inherited from the past. The new people's state power had to cope with new attempts of the overthrown classes and external enemies to return their lost paradise. These and other tasks that would emerge in the course of the construction of the new socialist society could not have been achieved without arousing the entire people, without mobilizing their great energies. Precisely in these first steps of the socialist construction Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The political Front of the entire people, the Democratic Front, that is what Albania needed in the time of war, that is what Albania needs now in the time of peace, because the tasks we are facing in these times are as important and vital as those of the time of war.»² He defended and developed further the idea of the fighting unity of the people around the Party in the Democratic Front, as indispensable for the socialist construction of the country, worked and fought throughout his life for the ceaseless strengthening and tempering of the unity of the people, in order to make it a great motor force of the new society.

Of major importance is the thesis put forward by Comrade Enver Hoxha that the unity of the people around the Party is not given once and for all, that this unity can be strengthened and developed but also weakened and split. This depends on the policy the Party pursues, the understanding and application of this policy.

In our country the unity of the people around the Party has gone constantly strengthening, because the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania has always expressed and defended the supreme interests of the people and the Homeland, because it has always been aimed at achieving the all-round development of the country and the uninterrupted improvement of the people's well-being. Our reality, the new Albania, with

its developed economy, its advanced culture, its free and independent state, its healthy and cultured younger generation, its emancipated women, its large people's intelligentsia, its secure and invincible defence, its honoured and respected position in the international arena is clear evidence of this.

To Comrade Enver Hoxha, the architect of the policy our Party has always pursued, goes the special credit of having dealt with the major problem of the unity of the people in its dialectical development, in close connection with internal and external political, economic and socio-cultural factors. He proved with scientific argument that the unity of the Party is a decisive factor for the unity of the people, that every socio-economic transformation requires the people to be united and determined to march on the road of the Party, just as every transformation that is carried out further strengthens the unity of the people, raises it to a higher level.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a major and outstanding contribution to the struggle against opportunist and revisionist theories and practices which, for the sake of unity, negate social contradictions and the class struggle, or for the sake of the class struggle and contradictions negate unity. Proceeding from Marxism-Leninism and defending it, he developed the thesis that, in the conditions of socialism, unity cannot be achieved and strengthened without the development of the class struggle, without the constant strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always resolutely applied these teachings. It has never allowed unity to be considered separated from the class struggle, but has strengthened the unity of the people by consistently developing the class struggle, thwarting the attempts of internal enemies, ranging from Koçi Xoxe to the gang of Mehmet Shehu, smashing the plots of the external imperialist and revisionist enemies, and carrying the so-

cialist construction of the country forward.

In the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania on the questions of unity and the Front, contradictions and the class struggle, there have never been deviations, either opportunist or sectarian, to this or that side. The accusations of the Yugoslav revisionists and other enemies inside and outside the Party about opportunism, sectarianism and dogmatism during the war and after it have been made only with the aim of diverting the Party from its correct line, from its sound Marxist-Leninist positions. The intransigent stand of Comrade Enver Hoxha and our Party towards all the attempts by the various opportunists and deviators to draw the Party on to the road of unprincipled compromises, or dogmatic and sectarian actions, is well-known. The ideological sharpness, the principled and clear-cut stand of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on these issues have been decisive and salutary for the fate of the revolution and socialism in Albania. They serve and will serve in the future, too, as a guiding compass, a means to uncover and fight any concrete manifestation of opportunism and sectarianism which, if allowed to strike root, weaken and undermine the unity of the people around the Party.

The great unity of the Albanian people in the Democratic Front, their monolithic unity around the Party, stands out majestically in the rich legacy that Comrade Enver Hoxha has left us. It is the unity of the development of Albania on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society, the unity of people who refuse subjugation to any kind of oppression and exploitation, who live in freedom and genuine democracy and are masters of their own country. Together with the steel-like unity, Comrade Enver Hoxha left us very valuable teachings about how we should safeguard, develop and strengthen it unceasingly through work and struggle for the construction of the socialist society, by raising the political consciousness of

the masses, enhancing their role as builders and active defenders of the socialist victories, by developing the economy, culture and science, by strengthening the international position and the defence capacity of the Homeland.

In the present stage, the unity of the people around the Party has reached a high political and ideological level. Its further strengthening constitutes one of the major fronts of the daily work and struggle of the Party and all its levers. The education and tempering of the new man with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the norms of its morality, the struggle against the old conservative and liberal mentality and psychology, assume special importance. Our experience confirms with each passing day the vital truth that the profound and stable convictions about socialism, the placing of the general interest above the narrow personal interest, are irreplaceable factors in the struggle to face the difficulties of the socialist construction, the great pressure of the capitalist-revisionist world, with closed ranks.

The Democratic Front is the broadest political organization which unites the Albanian people in the struggle for the common ideal of the construction and defence of socialism. It has a great role in the education of the masses with revolutionary patriotism, with the teachings of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the spirit of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with socialist friendship and solidarity, and for their organization and mobilization for implementing the program of the Party.

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Our people have fought through the centuries and have shed torrents of blood for their freedom and independence, for a better life, against the numerous occupiers and their

tools within the country. But the exploiting classes enjoyed the fruits of these struggles. Comrade Enver Hoxha had in mind precisely this bitter historical experience when, since the founding of the Party, he launched the slogan of the struggle for a free, democratic people's Albania.

With the foresight of a great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, Comrade Enver Hoxha orientated the struggle of the Party and people to lead not only to the national liberation but also to the social liberation and the establishment of the new state, to the fulfilment of the centuries-old aspirations of the Albanian people. In the years of the Second World War, the other communist parties faced this problem, too, but not all of them provided a successful solution to this fundamental question of the revolution. Some did not put forward the problem of the seizure of power at all, some shared state power with other political parties, and some set out on this road but stopped half-way. From the beginning of the war the Party considered the question of state power part of the revolutionary strategy and carried it through to the end.

The road to power, which Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out and the Party followed, was well-considered, in conformity with the socio-political conditions and circumstances of our country and the stages through which the National Liberation War went. The process of the organization and establishment of the people's state power went through a very difficult, but absolutely necessary and original road. In this complicated process the Communist Party of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally were careful to ensure that our revolution led to the setting up of a new state power, in content and in form, that it had nothing in common with that old one which oppressed the people's masses, which was the state power of corrupt bureaucracy, backwardness and obscurantism.

One of the distinguished contributions of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the theoretical Marxist-Leninist thinking

and the revolutionary practice lies in the fact that the question of to whom state power would go was actually solved during the war in favour of the working class, the working masses. The new state power, that was established in the country after Liberation, was distinguished by its proletarian content, which conditioned Albania's resolute march on the road of socialism before many other countries of former people's democracy. This was the result of those revolutionary developments which took place in our country during the National Liberation War, of that profound political and class differentiation that took place between the people and the exploiting classes and of the destruction of their political power and organizations.

With the establishment of the people's state power, the Party faced a number of problems which had to do with the smashing of the all-round resistance put up by the many enemies of the new state, with the liquidation of the plots hatched up against it by the imperialist powers, especially by the Anglo-Americans, with the completion and organization of the state structure in all the links and all over the country, with the experience that had to be gained in the organization and management of construction work, with the working out of the new legislation, etc. It is no accident that for a long period of time, Comrade Enver Hoxha was directly engaged in these problems and remained at the head of the state leadership. The moments the new state power was going through demanded his broad mind and his practical, leading and guiding activity.

For nearly half a century the people's state power, which emerged from the war, has displayed unexampled stability, a great organizing and executive strength, a genuine popular and revolutionary character. The great socio-economic transformations, which have been made during this period, have turned Albania into an advanced country and have enabled the people to enjoy the material and cultural blessings of their own work and toil.

The emergence of modern revisionism raised many problems, but the most important was the question of state power. Practice confirmed the brilliant idea of the great Lenin that it is easier to seize power than to hold, preserve and strengthen it. The revisionists, especially the Soviet ones, not only undermined the workers and peasants' state in their own country, but also spread a great ideological confusion about this question. In this situation Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the communist party in its system, with rare resolve and courage. He proved the need for preserving and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the period of the socialist construction and transition to communism.

Of great value is the thesis Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward and supported with argument that as long as the class struggle goes on, as long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement exists, the state power of the working class is not immune to the danger of degeneration. On the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha and on the basis of extensive thrashing out of opinions in the Party, especially after the 60's, a series of measures for the continuous and uninterrupted revolutionization of the people's state power were carried out: reduction of high salaries, participation of the cadres of all categories directly in production, their circulation, abolishment of military ranks, and establishment of political commissars in the armed forces, reduction of administrative apparatuses in the centre and at the base, giving the various organs of state power and economy greater powers, organization and exercise of the direct worker and peasant control, etc. These measures are dictated by our very internal development, by the need to preserve the purity of the popular character of the state power, to further strengthen and democratize the state power and the whole life of the country, to block all paths that lead to bureaucracy and liberalism, these enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our experience of the revolutionization of the entire life of the country has national and international significance, it serves to build up the confidence of the proletariat and the peoples of other countries in the socialist and communist future of mankind, to reject the poison of the bourgeois propaganda which claims that socialism is an abortive experience. It is a generally known truth that revisionism did not pass in Albania and that it stands on the sound rails of Marxism-Leninism. All the theoretical heritage and the revolutionary practice of Comrade Enver Hoxha are an ever valid message for the present and future generations in order to defend the cause of socialism and communism like the apple of their eyes and carry it forward.

The great work of Comrade Enver Hoxha for the setting up and strengthening of the people's state power is embodied in the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which was drafted under his direct guidance. It has the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the achievements realized under his leadership at its foundations. The new Constitution confirmed the fundamental principles of the development of our society on the basis of which our legislation, all the existing socio-economic socialist relations, are built. The characteristic feature of our Constitution is that it not only sanctions these relations, but also guarantees their realization, unlike any other bourgeois and revisionist practice.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has waged a long struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist theories on the state and its development in the conditions of socialism, the essence of which is nothing but liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, divesting the working class and the working masses of their power, creation of all premises to re-establish the old exploiting order, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. He defended the Marxist view that, in the course of development, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not weaken, but on the contrary, continuously strengthens and raises its role. Comrade

Enver Hoxha has particularly exposed the various revisionists' theories on the state and their practices, beginning with the so-called Yugoslav «self-administrative» socialist state, which in essence alienates the working class from its political power, «the state of the entire people» that the Soviet revisionists advocate, the Chinese «political pluralism», to the Eurocommunist views which openly deny the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Summing up the experience of our revolution and socialist construction and drawing the necessary lessons from the revisionist tragedy, Comrade Enver Hoxha reached the conclusion that with the building of the economic base of socialism and the wiping out of the exploiting classes, the existence of other parties, except the communist party, is quite unnecessary, and that to preserve these parties for the sake of the historical tradition means to keep alive the nests around which the elements of overthrown classes and all the scum of reaction come together to fight the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha's argument on this principled and practical question is diametrically opposed to the revisionists' theories and practices, their multiparty system and

political «pluralism», which have been deliberately cooked up to justify the liquidation of the leading role of the Communist Party. He enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory of the leading role of the Party in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the important idea that the more this state is strengthened, the more the leading, guiding and controlling role of the Party is enhanced.

To Comrade Enver Hoxha goes the credit for working out in theory and practice the roads of the preservation and ceaseless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of special importance in this are his ideas about the enhancement of the role of the masses, their active participation in the governing of the country, the continuous extension and deepening of socialist democracy, the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, the safeguarding of the popular character of the state power from any alien phenomenon, the raising of vigilance against internal and external enemies. Our state power has always proceeded on this road. The people have always given it the great strength to realize its mission for the construction of the socialist society and the defence of the Homeland.

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The experience of the Party and our struggle show that even a small country like Albania can win its freedom and national independence, build the new society and carry it forward when it is led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party. This experience shows that the people can seize power, establish their power through the armed struggle and, united around their Communist Party, successfully build socialism when they defend and strengthen their unity and political power continuously. It shows also that the process of degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not unavoidable, on the contrary, it can be and is avoided by closing all the paths leading to this degeneration. This experience embodies the outstanding theoretical thinking and the all-round revolutionary activity of our great and glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, whose teachings remain a guide for the Party on the road of carrying his immortal work always forward.

1. See *Bashkimi* newspaper, September 9, 1935, p. 1.
2. Enver Hoxha, *Works*, vol. 3, p. 71, Alb. ed.

THE ANTI-FASCIS AND THE ALBANIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

By declaring war on nazi-fascism, as the most aggressive variant of world imperialism, and by aligning the Albanian people with the Anti-fascist Coalition, our Party exerted a decisive influence on the historical destinies of Albania. It defended the supreme national interests. The great merit of our Party is that it foiled the plans of the occupiers which wanted to link the Albanian people to the chariot of fascism

ALBANIA WAS AMONG THE FIRST VICTIMS OF FASCIST AGGRESSION, THE DIRECT RESULT OF THE POLICY OF «APPEASEMENT» OF FASCISM ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN IMPERIALIST POWERS. THE SECOND WORLD WAR HAD NOT YET BROKEN OUT, BUT THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IN APRIL 1939 HAD ALREADY MADE CLEAR THEIR POSITION TO FASCIST ITALY. THEY HAD EXPRESSED IT BOTH THROUGH THEIR ARMED RESISTANCE ON THEIR COAST AND THROUGH THEIR POWERFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AT A TIME WHEN THE ZOGITE CLIQUE HAD ABANDONED THE COUNTRY AND TAKEN REFUGE BEYOND ITS BORDERS.

Although in the form of isolated actions and in an embryonic phase the first acts of resistance of the Albanian people to the occupiers had major political significance, especially if account is taken of the general indifference with which the occupation of our country was received in the Western government circles. The spirit of the time is characterized best by the stand of the League of Nations which once again showed its hypocrisy and helplessness by keeping completely silent about the aggression of fascist Italy on Albania, a member state of that organization.

That was only the beginning, but a beginning that concealed in itself the seed of the outbreak and development of a broad national liberation

war. The founding of the Communist Party represented a radical turning-point, the beginning of a decisive stage. Under its leadership, the National Liberation War of the Albanian people assumed such proportions as to make Albania one of the major centres of the partisan movement in the Second World War. In the Resolution on the founding of the Party and in the first Appeal of the Central Committee of the newly-formed Party to the Albanian people in November 1941, the struggle «for national independence» and a «democratic people's government» was put forward as the fundamental task which was to be achieved through a «general uprising» by uniting «all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces». Faced with the situation

T COALITION AN NATIONAL VEMENT

by Prof. ARBEN PUTO

created by the fascist aggression, the Party addressed itself «to all honest Albanians who truly love Albania» with the call of «joining all our forces for the waging of the struggle for national liberation.»¹

Further on the National Liberation War would be developed and stepped up to include not only the military sphere, as an expression of the armed resistance to the occupiers, but also a whole system of organs which expressed the determination of the Albanian people to carry the struggle against foreign bondage through to the end, to re-establish their national independence and set up the new democratic people's order.

In general, it can be said that actually Albania found itself on the front of the anti-fascist war before the formal creation, through the relative acts, of the great Anti-fascist Coalition led by the three great powers: the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain. True enough, the fundamental document which is considered as the first evidence of this Coalition is the Washington Declaration of January 1942 through which the above three great powers, together with a number of other states, pledged to carry the war against the Axis Powers through to final victory.

This alliance was the only option, an urgent task, a historical necessity which was put forward on a world scale. The very development of this alliance is best proof of its specific nature as a military-political bloc **sui generis**, the extension of which took place not so much by means of treaties or formal juridical acts as through the alignment of ever new forces on the front of struggle against fascism.

The Albanian people were an obvious member of this alliance. They

made clear their position not only through their armed resistance to the nazi-fascist powers, but also through a number of political acts of the high organs of the National Liberation War in the more significant stages of the development of the Second World War. In this sense, the Resolution of the Conference of Peza in September 1942, the first act by which this high constitutional forum solemnly adhered to the joint front of the peoples against fascism with the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain at the head, had particular importance.

By declaring war on nazi-fascism as the most aggressive variant of world imperialism and by aligning the Albanian people with the Anti-fascist Coalition, our Party exerted a decisive influence on the historical destinies of Albania. It defended the supreme national interests. The great merit of our Party is that it foiled the plans of the occupiers which wanted to link the Albanian people to the chariot of fascism. This achievement had a decisive impact on the future of the Albanian people. As a result, the attempts of the occupiers to cover up the occupation of Albania, to «legalize» it by means of some concepts of international law as fascist Italy did, by proclaiming the «personal union of crowns», or later Germany, by formally recognizing «the independence and neutrality of Albania» while continuing to keep its troops on Albanian soil, failed. The merit of the Party becomes even more evident if account is taken of the extremely harmful role of the different local groups and trends which had traditionally been the carriers of foreign influence in Albanian political life. Exposing their links with the imperialist powers, in his book **Laying**

the Foundations of the New Albania Comrade Enver Hoxha shows how the different «nationalists», these «experienced politicians», the self-styled «fathers of the nation» also considered the possibility of the victory of the fascist powers, nazi Germany, in particular. Proceeding from their narrow class interests which were in contradiction to the fundamental interests of the nation, these elements first accepted the «personal union» of Albania with fascist Italy, then adopted the deceptive formula of «the independence and neutrality of Albania» in the time of its occupation by the German troops.

With its uncompromising war on the occupiers and a handful of traitors who were ready to play into their hands, the Party avoided a certain national catastrophe. Thanks to the heroic National Liberation War, the occupation of the country by fascist Italy (1939-1943), and then by nazi Germany (1943-1944), did not lead to the permanent disappearance of the independent Albanian state, but remained only an isolated fact, a temporary interruption of the sovereignty of the Albanian people in the exceptional circumstances of the Second World War. Albania emerged from the war as one of the more active participants of the Anti-fascist Coalition, as a victorious state, with a clear international position which left no place, among other things, for the manoeuvres of the neighbouring chauvinists when the problems of the peaceful regulation would be raised after the end of the Second World War.

The clear-cut stand which the Party adopted right at the beginning and, especially, the heroic struggle of the Albanian partisans did not fail to bear their fruit on the foreign political plane, too. They had their echo on the

international arena, a much broader and qualitatively new echo as compared with that of the first days of fascist aggression in April 1939. Clear evidence of this is the December 1942 Declaration of the three powers of the Anti-fascist Coalition.

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Being the motor force of the Albanian National Liberation Movement, the Party always acted as a truly Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. It channelled it unwaveringly towards the anti-fascist alliance, while never for a moment neglecting the class criteria in the assessment of situations and the drawing of conclusions. The alignment of our National Liberation Movement with the Anti-fascist Coalition was a major political victory and the whole experience of our National Liberation War shows that the Party remained always consistent to its line of the rigorous implementation of the obligations and demands of this alliance for the achievement of final victory. On the other hand, the Party could not forget that the Anti-fascist Coalition was a union of heterogenous forces, an alliance based on passing circumstances of states and forces, of political and class movements of widely different political orientations. There was, certainly, a major common objective which united all these forces in the anti-fascist war, an objective which relegated differences among them to the background. However, this potential reality could not be ignored by a Marxist-Leninist party.

The antagonism between socialism and capitalism found its clear expression in the leadership of this alliance itself. Along with the socialist and anti-imperialist Soviet Union which waged a defensive and liberation war, there were the two capitalist great powers of the West — Britain and the United States, which aimed at exploiting the war against the fascist powers as another opportunity to extend their spheres of influences, to ensure new

spaces for their expansionist interests.

This alignment of the main leading factors of the anti-fascist alliance was a determinant factor in the differentiation of its component forces. A differentiated stand towards these forces was also a touchstone for the true Marxist-Leninist parties. So, a differentiation had to be done also within the anti-fascist alliance. Here, too, our Party right from the outset assumed a clear-cut and categorical stand by aligning the resistance movement in Albania with the more progressive forces, those forces which were not only against nazi-fascism, but also against any imperialist oppression, which linked the tasks of the Anti-fascist War with the tasks of carrying out deep-going social changes as well. All the documents of our Party, both the fundamental ones and those which followed the development of the National Liberation War, clearly show that the Albanian communists considered the Soviet Union and Stalin as the mainstay of the Anti-fascist Coalition which, while carrying the main weight of the *patriotic* war against Hitlerite Germany, did not neglect the *revolutionary* perspective either².

In his book *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania* Comrade Enver Hoxha has dealt in a dialectical manner with the stand towards the anti-fascist alliance, pointing out the two important aspects of this question.

«In our assessment of this alliance, we had to be neither sectarian nor liberal, but while considering it fruitful in the context of the fight against nazism, it was necessary that we should never forget what the governments of the United States of America and Great Britain represent for our people, that we should never forget their savage nature as capitalists and colonialist oppressors, that we should never forget the countless wounds they had inflicted on the body of our Homeland.»³

The subsequent development of events fully justified this stand of our Party. True enough, the two western powers of the Anti-fascist Coalition, the United States and Great Britain, could

not fail to show their true imperialist nature. They showed it both in a number of major political and military problems of the Second World War and, especially, in their stand towards the resistance movement in occupied Europe. On this question, the American and British statesmen kept to political class criteria, necessarily proceeding from a position that was dictated by the interests of the bourgeoisie. They followed a policy of pure restoration, the re-establishment of the old regimes and the return of the «governments in exile» to the liberated countries, they wanted the *statu quo ante* for the socio-economic order. Thus, while encouraging the more conservative elements and being ready to strike deals even with the local traitors and collaborators with the nazi-fascist occupiers, they hampered and sabotaged any movement of the «left», any political force which, beyond the war for liberation, envisaged the transformation of society, too.

This general stand of the Anglo-American «allies» was also reflected in the concrete case of Albania. It found its clear expression, among other things, in the December 1942 Declaration of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain which reaffirmed the independence of our country. Actually there was an essential difference between the Declaration of these two powers and the Declaration made by the Soviet government at the same time. While the latter put no precondition for the re-establishment of the independence of Albania after the war, the former linked it with the possibility of the revision of Albania's borders, «which should be considered at the Peace Conference», even with the possibility of making the sovereignty of the Albanian state conditional on the agreements that might be concluded between Yugoslavia and Greece.⁴ This meant that the two western powers did not renounce their old methods of imperialist classical diplomacy in the treatment of the Albanian question and, in this way, although formal allies, they posed a potential threat

to the fundamental interests of our people.

The broad popular character of the National Liberation Movement in Albania, the leading role of the Communist Party of Albania in it could not fail to bring into the open the hypocritical and essentially hostile stand of the Anglo-American «allies». They were quick to understand that in the process of the war against fascism, in Albania, just as in many other countries, new social forces for which the national liberation revolution was only the prelude to a deeper-going popular revolution, were being formed and emerging to the fore.

Here begins that which Comrade Enver Hoxha has called the «underhand struggle»⁵ of the «allies» against our National Liberation Movement and Party. This was the task that the British SOE officers, and then, the American officers who came to Albania, were charged with. Although they posed as soldiers, not politicians (as they were instructed to do by their centre), they were sent to Albania for special political purposes: to undermine the National Liberation Movement, to bring to nought the victories of our Party, to prepare the ground for the re-emergence of the reactionary forces and to ensure the supremacy of the traitor forces on Albania's political scene. Even their so-called «aid» which was claimed to be the only motive for their coming to Albania, concealed a stratagem, it never became a factor of any weight in the development of the armed struggle of our people, but was employed as a means of political pressure to wrest concessions of principle from the leadership of our Movement and to bring the class allies of the Anglo-American imperialists back to power.

Our Party reacted with the urgency and resoluteness which the situation demanded. It put the British officers to their place. In a circular addressed to the district committees of the Communist Party of Albania in October 1943, Comrade Enver Hoxha, resolutely opposing their interference in the internal affairs of our country, expressed himself in these words: «We

know who the Anglo-Americans are and never for a moment forget that they are capitalists, that they are against communism, against socialism; for their part, they never forget who we are, just as we never forget who they are. Now we are in alliance with them against Italian fascism and German nazism and we remain loyal to this alliance. However, we have never allowed nor will we allow in the future any interference in the internal affairs of Albania. The bitter past of our people will never be repeated. The Communist Party of Albania and the Albanian people will not allow it.»⁶

The Party was clear that this aspect of the struggle of our people could not be neglected, that any underevaluation of it, any concession and any negligence could jeopardize the great victories achieved on the field of battle against the nazi-fascist occupiers. It energetically opposed «the underhand struggle» of the Anglo-American allies. Thus, with the liberation of the country a twofold victory was achieved. «The Party and our people,» says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «defeated the Italian fascists and the German nazis with the rifle, while defeating Anglo-American imperialism with heroic resistance and resolute and intelligent diplomacy, which was inspired by Marxism-Leninism and based on the great experience of the people and their leaders through the ages.»⁷

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The different principles that inspired the members of the Anti-fascist Coalition in the Second World War, their opposed stands and aims, especially about the final victory over fascism and the post-war regulation, influenced not only the relations among the allied powers, but also the activities of the national liberation movements in the occupied countries, especially in Europe.

This happened with the National Liberation War of our people, too. Right at the first direct contacts that

were established between us and the missions of British officers it clearly emerged that «co-operation» in the joint war against fascism meant (and would mean even more in the future) confrontation on the field of the political class battle. The British missions that came to our country were the emissaries of imperialism, of international reaction. Their main task both in Albania and elsewhere was to carry out activities of intelligence and espionage, a task which had to be carried out not so much against the nazi-fascist occupiers as against the movements of resistance in which the communist parties and the progressive forces played the main role.

One of the emissaries of British imperialism during the War, J. Amery, who had come to Albania in 1944 together with Major B. McLean with the task of enlivening in extremis Legaliteti and the whole Albanian reaction, explains the strategy of the capitalist powers towards the national liberation movements in Europe, including the Albanian National Liberation Movement, in this way: «There was no doubt,» he has to admit, «that the communist partisans were the best fighters» (in the struggle against fascism — A.P.). However, the Western powers had to proceed not only from military considerations, but above all, from political considerations: «When we were on the point of losing the war,» he continues, «we had to support the communists. However, after the middle of 1943, after El Alamein and Stalingrad, it became quite clear that we were winning the war. So the important now was not «to kill as many Germans as possible», but to seize power in the occupied countries after the German withdrawal.» Hence the conclusion that «understanding» had to be displayed towards the «nationalists» (that is the traitor organizations) who «hesitated» to engage themselves in the struggle against the Germans and preserved their forces for the decisive moment of the seizure of power.

This policy did not by any means take our Party by surprise precisely because right from the beginning it

had a clear orientation about the eventual differentiation in the ranks of the Anti-fascist Coalition. It never for a moment forgot the Leninist theory on imperialism, implementing it not only towards nazi-fascism, the direct enemy in the war, but also towards its Anglo-American «allies».

The Communist Party of Albania had no illusions that the two Western powers could change their imperialist nature. Speaking about British policy, which at that time was more active in Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: «Britain had temporarily changed its coat, but it was the same old Britain that we had known — imperialist, reactionary and an oppressor of the peoples. Naturally, it had neither the economic nor the military strength that it had had in the past, but it was practising the same trickery, intrigues and deception, indeed in more refined ways. True, Britain was fighting against the Germans, was one of the members of the anti-fascist bloc, but it was clear and unwavering in both its wartime and its post-war aims.»⁸

The same held true about the United States. Both of them wanted the defeat of Germany, but on condition that only they profited from the war: the Soviet Union, in their opinion, would emerge weakened from the war and in all occupied countries reaction would be restored under all sorts of «democratic» labels to the detriment of the popular forces.⁹

In Comrade Enver Hoxha's book **The Anglo-American Threat to Albania** there is a complete picture of this policy towards our National Liberation Movement. The main peculiarity of this picture is the process of the constant deepening of the gap that separated our National Liberation Movement from the two Western great powers.

The confrontation between them has gone through some culminating moments especially in the summer and autumn 1944, when the Allied Mediterranean Command, acting in the quality of the representative of the governments of the United States and Britain, presented the General Staff

of our National Liberation Army with the demand in ultimatum form that it should stop its victorious march to the northern part of the country which later, in November of the same year, would end with the complete rout of the enemy and the liberation of all Albania.

At a special meeting, after hearing Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech, the Leading Body of the General National Liberation Council decided unani- mously that a firm reply should be given to General Wilson's ultimatum: against any interference of the «allies» in the internal affairs of our country and for the continuation of the operation in the North to the complete victory over the occupiers and the local traitors. The attempts of the Anglo-American allies at intervening militarily by landing their commandos on our coast, allegedly to assist in the pursuit of the withdrawing German forces, failed against the determined stand of our General Staff. At these decisive moments our Party knew how to act with foresight, precisely because it was clear about the true nature of world imperialism, a variant of which were the Anglo-American allies. One imperialism was being knocked out, while another imperialism was rising stronger and more threatening, with far-reaching objectives, on the world political scene. The complete liberation of the country in November 1944 and, later, the end of the Second World War in May 1945 found our Party completely prepared to cope with any imperialist pressure and to defend the gains of the popular revolution.

This independent foreign policy which was being implemented for the first time by the Albanian state in the practice of international relations could not be improvised in the days immediately following the liberation of the country from the nazi-fascist bondage. It was the fruit of a resolute and conscious activity which extended throughout the time of the Second World War and covered some of the more acute political problems that faced our National Liberation Move- ment. Hence, it can be said that the

foundations of the independence of the Albanian state were laid in the time of the war in the process of the laying of the foundations of the new revolutionary state itself.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's books **The Anglo-American Threat to Albania** and **Laying the Foundations of the New Albania** assume exceptional importance in this respect.

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The key to the definition of the correct line of the National Liberation Movement was the unwavering Marxist-Leninist adherence to principle of our Party which always saw its stand towards imperialism in all its variants as the central point of its general revolutionary strategy. This enabled it to successfully carry out its tasks on a twofold plane: that of the national liberation from the fascist bondage and that of the creation of proper internal and external conditions for the construction of the new socialist society.

The turn of events in Albania during the Second World War, and especially the triumph of the popular revolution, could not leave indifferent the two Western powers, the United States and the Great Britain. On the contrary, they did their utmost to bring Albania back onto the capitalist orbit. Their hostile activity against our country developed along two main lines: for the destabilization of the political situation within the country and for the isolation and boycotting of Albania in the international arena. The official declarations of the wartime were forgotten and their representatives at various international forums went so far as to put in doubt the participation of the Albanian people on the front of the war against fascism and, on this basis, tried to deny Albania its rights as a member of the Anti-fascist Coalition. In this way the governments of the United States and Great Britain implemented their great-power punitive course. But as their plans to overthrow our people's power through various plots failed, their attempts to

weaken the international position of Albania were not more successful, either. Despite their opposition Albania was called an «associated power» on the basis of an important international act such as the Peace Treaty with Italy in 1947, a treaty concluded with the power that it was directly responsible for the April 1939 aggression on Albania. This must be the basis for the peaceful regulation of all problems that concern Albania and that have remained unsolved since the Second World War. In all these cases Albania has emerged and will emerge as a member with full rights of the Anti-fascist Coalition.

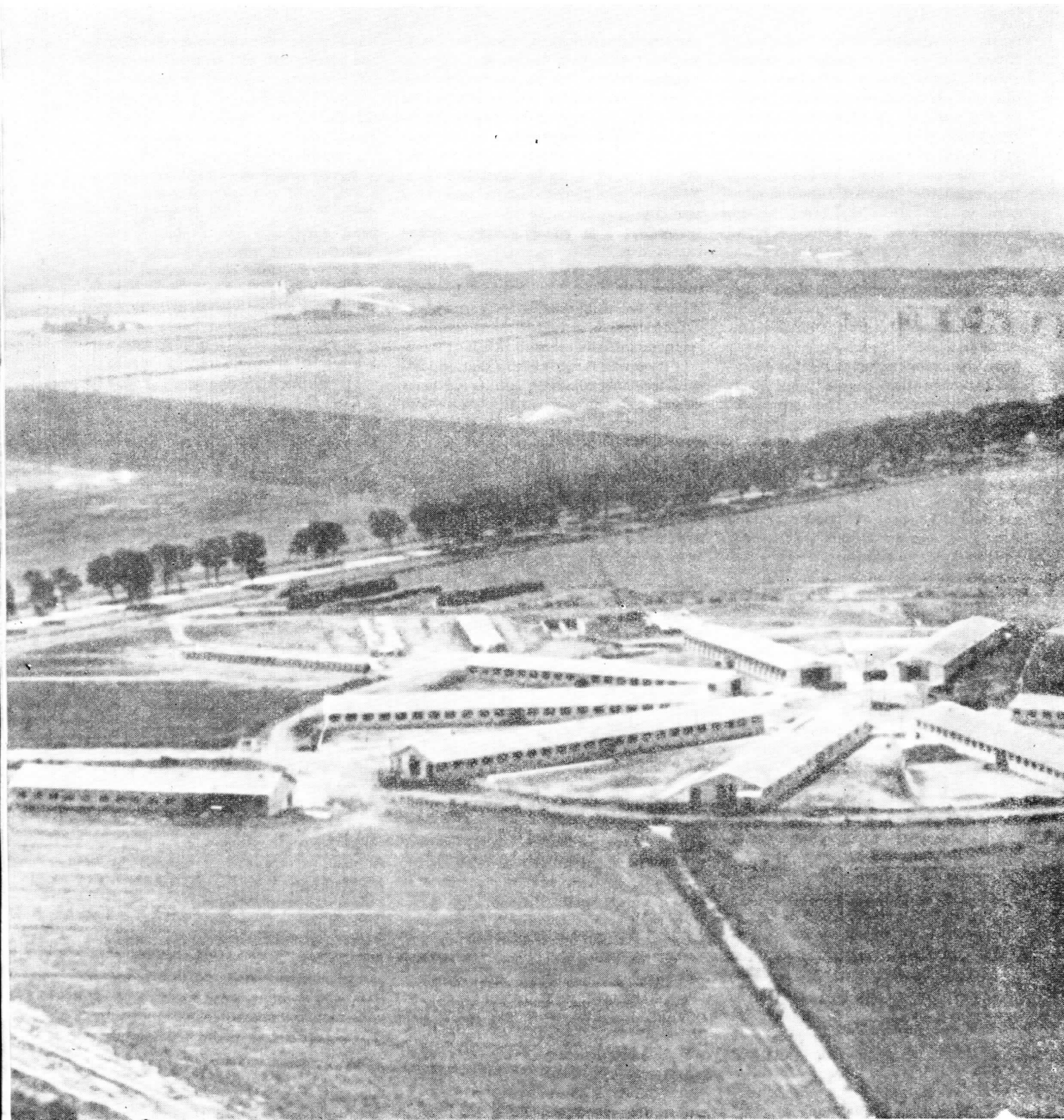
Its loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism has enabled our Party to find its bearings in the most com-

plicated situations of the past forty years. It has never hesitated to oppose imperialism in all its manifestations, whether «classical» or «modern». Its denunciation of the revisionist betrayal, of the transformation of the Soviet Union and China into social-imperialist powers, its confrontation with Yugoslav revisionism as an agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie, are a continuation of a course based on the experience gained during the Second World War through the consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory on imperialism. The post-war events have vindicated best the correctness of the thesis of our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that opposition to imperialism in all its variants is not only an act of foreign policy,

but also an indispensable condition for the successful construction of socialist society.

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- 1 Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, Tirana 1971, pp. 11-12, Alb. ed.
 - 2 See Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, Tirana 1971, Alb. ed.
 - 3 Enver Hoxha, The Anglo-American Threat to Albania, p. 19, Eng. ed.
 - 4 Public Record Office. Foreign Office, PRO-FO/371, File no. 33107.
 - 5 Enver Hoxha, The Anglo-American Threat to Albania, p. 28, Eng. ed.
 - 6 Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 1, Tirana 1983, p. 548, Alb. ed.
 - 7 The Great Betrayal, London 1984, p. 19.
 - 8 Enver Hoxha, The Anglo-American Threat to Albania, pp. 117-118, Eng. ed.
 - 9 *Ibidem*.

THE DEVELOPMENT



T OF AGRICULTURE IN BOTH FORMS OF OWNERSHIP IN ALBANIA

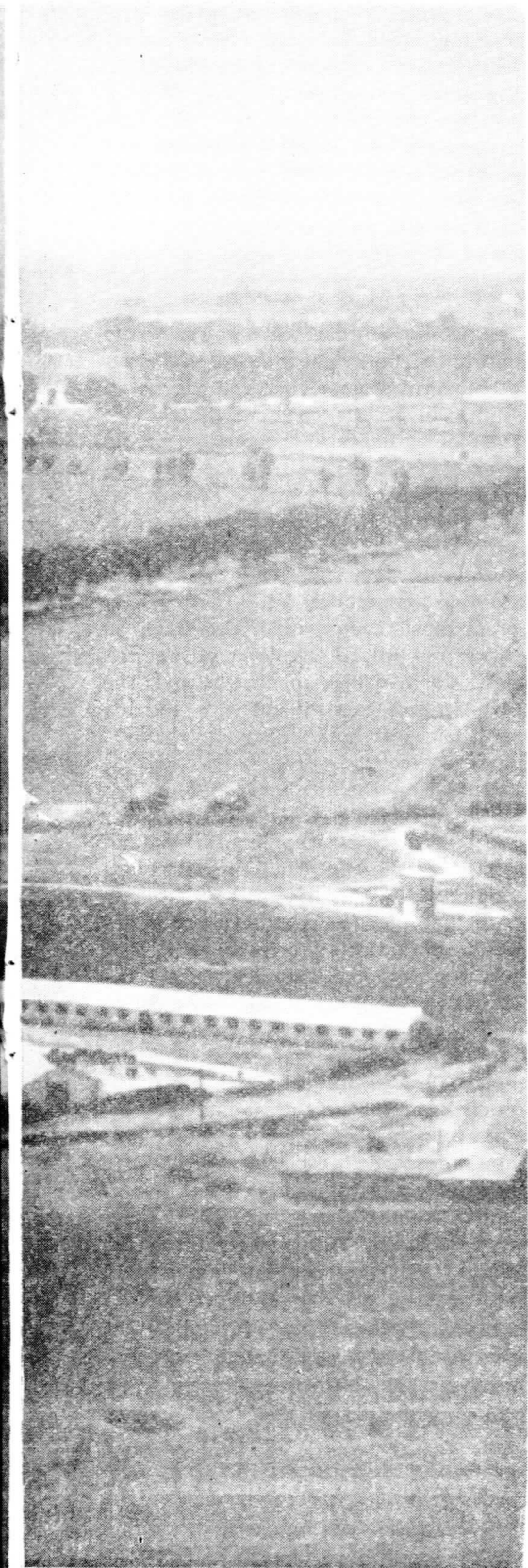
by **NEXHMEDIN LUARI**

The policy of the Party of Labour of Albania and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat have guided the transition of the country from semi-feudal backwardness directly to socialism, both in town and in countryside. By skipping over the phase of developed capitalism, the national economy was strengthened on the basis of the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, the defence capacity of the country was strengthened, the well-being of the working masses in town and countryside was raised, the essential distinctions between town and countryside were further narrowed, and the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, as the political basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was strengthened

BEFORE ITS LIBERATION ALBANIA WAS A COUNTRY ENGAGED ENTIRELY IN AGRICULTURE AND THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION CONSISTED OF THE PEASANTRY. SEMI-FEUDAL RELATIONS PREDOMINATED IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. FARMING WAS PRIMITIVE AND EXTENSIVE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES WAS EXTREMELY SLOW. IN THESE CONDITIONS, AFTER THE SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER BY THE WORKING CLASS, APART FROM OTHER THINGS, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES BE CARRIED OUT IN AGRICULTURE.

The solution of the agrarian problem involved important and complicated issues. The Party of Labour of Albania has devoted great care to this problem and closely guided all the process of transformation of the

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countryside in conformity with the conditions of our country and the economic and social possibilities which were created in the process of the construction of the socialist society. The first step on this arduous road, with various and complex problems, was the consistent and revolutionary application of the Land Reform. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory and taking account of the specific conditions of our country and our peasant, the Party carried out this great economic and political action with success.

The implementation of the Land Reform in a revolutionary manner played a very important role in the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, an alliance which was born from the time of the National Liberation War, which was only a military alliance at that time, and now had also an economic basis. The confiscated and expropriated lands were distributed freely, in the spirit of the Land Reform, among the landless and land-poor peasants as their private property. At that time, the Communist Party of Albania (now the Party of Labour of Albania) issued the slogan «the land belongs to the tiller». Under the law on the Land Reform, it was prohibited to sell, purchase, lease, or mortgage the land. These and other measures show that the Land Reform in our country, through these sanctions, limited the development of capitalist elements which the right of ownership of the land begets, despite the fact that the land was given to the possession of the peasants as their private property.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «In the beginning we distributed the land among the peasants, and we had to do so, considering the concrete historical and psychological conditions and the centuries-old aspirations of the peasantry for land... By proceeding on this road, we went over from the large-scale private property to another stage, in which, through the Land Reform, we distributed the land among the peasants. We did not proclaim the nationalization of the land, because our peasantry would not understand such a step at that time, since the petty-bourgeois sense of pri-

vate ownership of the land was deep-rooted among them. We issued some laws, on the basis of which, the peasant was deprived of the right to alienate the land, had not the right to sell, exchange and bequeath it. That is why we did not proclaim nationalization de jure.»¹

The successful application of the Land Reform in a revolutionary manner led to a democratic change in the relations of ownership of the land, it led to changes in the social-class structure in the countryside. The land in possession of the big landowners, who did not work the land themselves or did not live in the countryside, was expropriated without compensation; whereas those proprietors who lived in the countryside and worked in their own economies were left with as much land as the other peasants. As a result, the overwhelming majority of the land-poor peasants was raised to the level of middle peasants. The implementation of the Land Reform marked the first revolution in the socio-economic relations of the countryside.

This was the result of the taking of state power into the hands of the people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania. With the changes in the economic, political and social fields, along with the existence of the private sector of agriculture, conditions were created for the birth of two new sectors: the socialist state sector of agriculture and the sector of the agricultural cooperatives of the socialist type. These two forms of ownership form the socialist sector in this branch of basic importance in the people's economy.

1. THE STATE FARMS

The state sector of agriculture was set up on the part of the cropland which was confiscated or expropriated from foreign landed companies and local landowners. In this manner, the socialist state sector of agriculture was created. The state farms, which were created and run by the state, were the first economies of large-scale agricultural production. By setting up the state farms, the Party wanted to ensure the regular supply

of the towns and working centres with agricultural and dairy products, the production of selected seeds and breeding stock intended for the smaller peasant economies. Besides this, the state farms would serve as centres for the dissemination of the new in science, for the introduction of modern means of farming and the mechanization and chemization of agriculture, etc. In the context of these tasks, the newly set up state farms, which were owned by the whole people, would set the example to the rest of agricultural economies, would encourage their advance on the road of modernization all over the country. With the results they would achieve in the agricultural production and with their forms of organization and management, they would greatly influence the large masses of peasants and convince them with concrete facts about the superiority of the large-scale economies of agricultural production. They would also have an influence in the creation of agricultural cooperatives in the future. The state farms carried out this mission with success; and today they continue to give their very valuable contribution to the modernization of our socialist agriculture. In the beginning the state farms were few in number and the surface of land they had was limited.

In the process of the socialist development of the whole country, with the draining of marshes and the breaking in of virgin land, the state farms increased in number and the acreage of their cropland increased hand in hand. Besides this, the number of livestock and other draft animals increased, the surface of fruit-tree blocks extended especially with olive groves, vineyards and citrus plantations. In 1984, they produced 40.4 per cent of fruits, 34.9 per cent of vegetables, 56.1 per cent of olives, 57.7 per cent of citruses, 42.6 per cent of grapes, 28 per cent of milk, 56.2 per cent of eggs, etc., produced in the whole country. As a result of these achievements, their total income (reckoned at 1981 prices) in 1984, as against 1980, increased 6.5 fold, and as against 1950, it increased 29.5 fold.

Even these few data speak not only of the growth of the state farms in

number, the extension of their land, the increase of their head of livestock, their growing plantations, etc., but also of the continuous increase of their crop yields and production of livestock.

Speaking to the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, even then Comrade Enver Hoxha underlined the importance of the state farms, saying that: «The role of the state sector in agriculture is great; it is the sector in which the revolutionary movement for production and science in agriculture will grow and develop. It is the sector in which mechanization and the most advanced agrotechnical methods will find full application, it is the sector which will become the example for and will aid the agricultural cooperatives and other peasants with selected seeds, seedlings, breeding stock, and with specialized cadres. It will help in the solution of the problem of supplying the towns and industrial centres with vegetables, fruit, milk, and other products.»² Correctly assessing the role of these agricultural enterprises, Comrade Enver Hoxha reached the conclusion and gave the instruction that, «The Party and the state will give special attention to the strengthening and growth of our state farms, because, although their role is still small at present, they will become very important.»³

By following up the process of the growth, strengthening and development of the state farms, the Party adopted effective measures to help them become the vanguard part of our socialist agriculture and a powerful support for the supply of the population with agricultural and dairy products.

The state farms exercise their activity in conformity with the climatic and natural conditions of the zones in which they are set up. Besides this, they have definite main directions about the development of production, the range of agricultural and dairy products. In order to help them carry out their productive-economic activity, the socialist state provides them with fundamental circulation funds and work force on the basis of the state plan tasks. The product turned out in the state farms is owned

by the state, by the whole people. The tasks which the state sets to the state farms, on the basis of the economic policy of the Party, are part of the single, general state plan.

The state farms are assigned, in a centralized manner, the main indices which ensure the proportional development of the economy and express the needs of society and the possibilities of the latter to fulfil them. These indices comprise the volume of production in terms of value and in kind, the quality and range of production, the sources and quantity of supplies of materials and machinery, the distribution of the principal products, the volume of export, the number of workers, the wages fund, etc.

The state farms have their own fleets of tractors and farming machines which, likewise, are socialist state property; they also dispose of the repair shops necessary for the upkeep of these machines. Like all the rest of the state enterprises, they, too, apply the principle of distribution according to the work done, which encourages the participation of the workers in the continuous increase of production. In this manner, the socialist state is in a position to fulfil the growing needs of the working people ever better, to further strengthen the defence capacity of the country, etc. People working in state farms have their trade-union organization, as a lever of the Party, and have the same rights and duties as all the other workers in the state enterprises of the other sectors of the economy.

2. THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

The implementation of the Land Reform could not and did not pull the peasantry out of its state of backwardness all at once. It liquidated the big land property, liquidated the leftovers of feudalism, and marked only the beginning of the great effort for the revolutionary transformations in the countryside. The Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, bearing in mind V. I. Lenin's teaching that «since we live with small-scale peasant economy, in Rus-

sia there is a solid base rather for capitalism than for communism,»⁴ gave the orientation that the only road for the building of socialism in the countryside goes through the transformation of the small individual economies into large-scale collective economies, that without these changes it is not possible to proceed towards further socio-economic transformations in the countryside.

The Party was conscious of the major importance of large-scale collective economies for the destinies of socialism in Albania. At the same time, it was conscious that all kinds of difficulties would crop up in this long process which covered the whole period of the building of socialism in our country. In the first place, the Party had to wage a stern fight against the efforts of the internal enemies and against the imperialists and the Titoites who resorted to all possible means in order to impede and sabotage the collectivization of agriculture and the construction of socialism in Albania.

As a result of the great amount of explanatory work carried out by the Party and thanks to the revolutionary drive of the peasantry, and especially the poor peasantry, all the efforts of kulaks and other internal and external enemies suffered complete defeat. In 1959, the surface of collectivized land represented 83 per cent of the whole acreage on a national scale. This marked the completion, in general, of the process of collectivization in Albania, while only a few isolated villages in the remote mountain zones remained outside this system.

The completion of collectivization, in general, was a great historic victory of political importance which the Party won in the struggle for the construction of socialism. It marked the crowning with success of the second revolution, the most important revolutionary change in the socio-economic relations in the Albanian countryside.

The Party of Labour of Albania, bearing in mind and guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, and working in conformity with the concrete socio-economic conditions of our country, has taken measured and timely steps for the

collectivization of agriculture. It has considered the complete collectivization of agriculture as an objective necessity, a must, for the complete construction of the socialist society in Albania. From the time the first agricultural cooperative was set up in 1948 till the setting up of the agricultural cooperatives in the mountain zones in 1967 more than twenty years passed. This speaks of the special care and attention, the maturity and clarity of vision, with which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, in particular, worked in order to ensure that the Albanian peasantry embarked on the road of large-scale economies of socialist production of its own free will and after becoming conscious of the advantages of this road.

With this major historic victory of the policy of the Party in the countryside, one of Lenin's great teachings was put into practice, one which laid stress on the importance of the collectivization of the peasantry, and the relative conclusion that, «If we could organize the whole population (meaning the peasant population — ed.) into cooperatives, we would be able to stand with both feet on the socialist terrain.»⁵

In the former socialist countries, in which capitalism has been restored, a different road was followed both as regards the implementation of the land reform and the collectivization of agriculture. In these countries, the economic positions of the wealthy peasants were preserved with slight variations. Private ownership was allowed to develop under different forms and the collective economies maintained capitalist elements of ownership and distribution. When the superstructure of these countries degenerated, these half-way measures were an element which facilitated this degeneration in the base and became one of the economic factors which helped the more rapid re-establishment of capitalism in the countryside under new forms.

Although the Albanian peasants had not known any other form of cooperation until that time, with their confidence in the Party, they chose the road of the agricultural cooperative. The peasants joined their land, tools of work and means of pro-

duction in the cooperatives. The lower forms of cooperation, as intermediary forms of transition to cooperatives, were shortlived. So, from the beginning only the agricultural cooperatives were created, in which, regardless of the acreage of cropland and means of work contributed by each individual peasant, distribution was made according to the amount and quality of the work done by the cooperativist.

Like the state farms, the agricultural cooperatives had their different kinds of production determined in conformity with the climatic and soil conditions, and in harmony with the needs of the entire economy of the country. Likewise, the economic organization and management of the cooperatives was done on the basis of the single, general state plan. In comparison with the state farms, the management of the agricultural cooperatives has some specific features which stem from the very nature of the socialist ownership of the cooperative as group ownership, and from cooperativist democracy. Management of the cooperatives is realized through the general meeting of the members of the cooperative or their representatives, as well as by the leading committee of the cooperative which the cooperativists elect on the basis of the constitution of the cooperatives, which regulates all the activity of the cooperative.

The extension and development of the economic and social activities of the cooperative is done with the material and financial funds and means of the cooperative itself. The socialist state assists the agricultural cooperatives by means of state investments for protection, irrigation, systematization of the land, mechanization, etc., by means of long- and short-term credits and other ways and means. Unlike the state farms, the agricultural cooperatives do not possess their own fleets of tractors and farming machines. Work requiring mechanized means in any agricultural process is carried out by the machine and tractor stations (MTS) against state tariffs in force. Although these main means of production are the property of the whole people they are also used to serve the agricultural

cooperatives as group ownership, regardless of the fact that they are socialist economies.

From the income realized by the sale of their products, the agricultural cooperatives cover the material expenditure of production, accumulate the means and funds for the extended socialist reproduction, ensure the guaranteed and wages fund, which is distributed according to the workdays put in by each individual member of the cooperative during the year. Income per field hand in the agricultural cooperatives varies from one cooperative to the other. Variations of this kind are due to the amount of the product realized by each individual cooperative. This is another point of distinction in the field of remuneration between the working people of the state farms and the members of agricultural cooperatives. These distinctions stem from the character of the two forms of the socialist ownership.

In the beginning, the agricultural cooperatives were set up on the basis of each village, and even without the participation of all the families of the village. This fact resulted from the implementation of the Leninist policy according to which the peasants should join the cooperative, this they should decide of their own free will and with the convincing work of the Party. In the process of the formation and consolidation of the economically smaller cooperatives, the conditions were created for their gradual enlargement through the voluntary merger of them. In this manner, 3-4 or even 10-15 villages formed one single cooperative.

The enlargement of the cooperatives through their voluntary merger was another important process which extended the social character of the cooperativist production, increased the degree of the socialization of ownership and common work; it created more appropriate conditions for the concentration, specialization and harmonization of the branches of agricultural and livestock production. Besides all these, the merger of the agricultural cooperatives strengthened the concept of common property and prepared the peasants for more changes in the future.

In 1971, after following up the development of all this process very closely, Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first to launch the idea and reach the conclusion that some agricultural cooperatives of the plains zones, which were economically strong, should be transformed into higher-type cooperatives, with the state participating with non-return social means. As such, these cooperatives represent a higher social level of the group ownership, a step closer to the form of ownership of the whole people.⁶ In 1972, with the implementation of these teachings in practice, higher-type cooperatives began to be set up in Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania: «Despite the short time since their inception, they have already demonstrated their superiority in a number of ways. They have achieved relatively high yield rates of agricultural and livestock products and sped up the rate of increase of production, which from year to year is becoming more stable.»⁷

As a result of the policy of the Party, some higher-type cooperatives were converted into state farms, thus becoming property of the whole people.

The development of the state farms and the higher-type cooperatives has gone hand in hand with the development of the rest of the country's agricultural cooperatives. The increased care for the higher-type cooperatives in no way means that the care and efforts for the development of the other cooperatives in the plains and mountains zones grew less.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, as the ar-

chitect of the construction of socialism in all the walks of life in our country, has made a major contribution to the advance of agriculture, too, for its setting out on the road of intensive development and for the construction of socialism in the countryside, in general. Following up the process of the social and economic transformation of the countryside in each of its phases, with his teachings, applied in the concrete conditions of our country which has marched on paths untraced by other countries, Comrade Enver Hoxha has further enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory, as in all other fields, also, in the field of the agrarian question. As a result of this policy, agricultural production has increased twice as fast as the rate of increase of the population, which, as is known, is among the highest in Europe.

The vitality of large-scale economies — the state farms and the agricultural cooperatives — and the correctness of the policy pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania regarding both sectors of the socialist agriculture were confirmed thoroughly by the results achieved especially in the conditions of the severe winter and the long draught and extremely high temperatures of the summer of the last year. In many cases, production of some crops was higher than that of the previous year.

The policy of the Party of Labour of Albania and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the continuous strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat have guided the transition of the country from semi-feudal backwardness directly to socia-

lism, both in town and countryside. By skipping over the phase of developed capitalism, the national economy was strengthened on the basis of the revolutionary principle of self-reliance, the defence capacity of the country was strengthened, the well-being of the working masses in town and countryside was raised, the essential distinctions between town and countryside were further narrowed, and the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, as the political basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was strengthened.

Without the Party of Labour of Albania, without its founder and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, it would have not been possible to reach to the heights we have climbed today. With the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, especially with the rich legacy he has left us, our country, under the leadership of the Party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, will advance continuously from victory to victory on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society.

1 *Enver Hoxha*, On the 7th Five-year Plan, pp. 415-416, *Alb. ed.*

2 *Enver Hoxha*, Works, vol. 5, p. 355.

3 *Ibidem.*

4 *V. I. Lenin*, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 595, *Alb. ed.*

5 *V. I. Lenin*, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 533, *Alb. ed.*

6 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, *Tirana 1971*, p. 81, *Alb. ed.*

7 *Enver Hoxha*, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, *Tirana 1976*, p. 55, *Eng. ed.*

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY IN THE PSR OF ALBANIA

A new multi-branched industry which is developing and advancing relying on the assets of Albania, on products of the soil and underground, on the work of the population. It ensures the fulfilment of the main needs of the whole population for industry, for the development of the country, also, ensures the means necessary for its own renewal and extension. It represents the basis for the development of all other sectors of the economy and the strengthening of the defence of the country.

WHEN F. ENGELS POINTED OUT THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST ORDER IN THE CORRECT GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES, HE UNDERLINED THAT «ONLY THE SOCIETY WHICH IS CAPABLE OF PLACING A HARMONIOUS COMBINATION OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES AT THE BASIS OF A GENERAL SINGLE PLAN CAN ENSURE THE EXTENSION OF INDUSTRY ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, IN CONFORMITY WITH THE NEEDS FOR ITS OWN DEVELOPMENT AND PRESERVATION AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF PRODUCTION.»¹

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY, THE SETTING UP AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COMPLEX NATIONAL INDUSTRY, WHICH IS DISTRIBUTED IN A RATIONAL MANNER ALL OVER THE TERRITORY OF THE COUNTRY, IS THE CONFIRMATION IN PRACTICE OF THE IMMORTAL TEACHINGS OF MARXISM-LENINISM, OF THE CORRECT POLICY OF THE PLA AND THE TEACHINGS OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA. THEY ARE A REFLECTION OF THE VITALITY OF OUR SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER, OF THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM OVER THE BOURGEOIS-REVISIONIST SYSTEM.

The socialist industrialization of the country and all economic-geographic transformations following therefrom have been realized relying strongly on our internal resources and on the colossal strength of our people, under the leadership of the Party. On this road, our Party has had to wage a stern and consistent fight against the internal and external enemies who endeavoured to sabotage the setting up of a complex, manybranched industry. The great efforts of the bourgeois-revisionist ideologists, who resorted to all sorts of theories in order to support their thesis about the alleged impossibility of our country creating a complex, heavy and light, extracting and processing industry are well-known. Through the «theories», «advice», «recommendations», pressure

EQEREM YZEIRI — candidate of sciences.

and open blackmail or the sabotage acts of their secret agents within Albania, they wanted to deprive our country of its national industry which is the leading branch of the economic development.

It is not an easy undertaking to depict the great efforts for the creation, strengthening and geographical distribution of the national industry which is a monumental work of the Party and people achieved with much work, many sacrifices and unprecedented heroism, a deed of historic importance for the present and future generations.

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The policy of the socialist industrialization of the country, worked out

and applied by the Party, is characterized by the rapid development and well-studied and rational distribution of the productive forces of industry. In conceiving the territorial distribution of the productive forces of industry for the years 1960-1990, the Party relied on the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and especially on the law of the planned and proportional development of the economy, on the application of the relative principles which stem from these laws. These principles are: the building of industry near the sources of primary materials, the sources of thermal energy and centres of consumption, the shortening of transport distances and cutting on social expenditure of production, the uniform distribution of industry in the different districts of the country and the liquidation of their backwardness inherited from the past, the specialized and complex development of industry in each district, its development in harmony with agriculture, and ensuring the presence of the working class in each administrative-territorial unit of the country. The ceaseless strengthening of the economic and industrial independence of the country, the subsequent development and the strengthening of the defence capacity of the Homeland, underlie the foundations of these principles. The reasons brought in support of the scientific application of these principles in the field of the territorial distribution of the forces of production in industry are just as numerous. In this article,

DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY

by **EQEREM YZEIRI**

*the local raw materials,
and creative abilities of our people, has been built in our country.
Industrial goods and, to a considerable extent,
represents a powerful base for the development
of the Homeland*

however, only some of them will be examined.

As a result of the correct line pursued with consistency by the Party and as a result of the selfless work done by the working masses under the leadership of the Party, **total industrial production** in each district and on a national scale has increased at rapid rates from one year to the other and from one five-year plan to the other. In 1980, for example, industrial production was 5.2 times as great as that of the year 1960. Eight districts of the country have this mean and eleven others stand above this mean for the Republic.

The geographical distribution of industrial production according to the branches of production has undergone great improvement from 1960-1980. Thus, for example, whereas in 1961 the northern zone was second in the production of electricity, with 32.7 per cent, in 1980 it came first, with a considerable increase reaching up to 57.8 percent of the total production of the country. And the figures tend to increase still more with the full exploitation of the cascade on the Drin River in the future. The building of the hydro-power plant at Vau i Dejës, the «Light of the Party» hydro-power plant at Fierza, and the building of the «Enver Hoxha» hydro-power plant at Koman recently have led to a radical change of the above-mentioned ratio. In 1961 the northern zone came last but one in the branch of mining and metallurgy, accounting for 11.1 per cent of its production, whereas in

1980 it topped the list with an increase of 66.4 per cent. This is the result of the intensive development of the extraction and processing of the diverse minerals in this zone, especially copper and chrome. But the most significant change, from the territorial viewpoint, is seen in the branch of chemical industry. In 1961 the central zone of the country accounted for 97 per cent of the production of this branch, whereas in 1980 the southwestern zone came first, giving 50.3 per cent of the production of the chemical industry. This is a reflection of the deep-going changes in the structure of this industry in the last two decades. An especially important role in this has been played by the chemical fertilizers plant, the PVC plant and the chemical-coking industry.

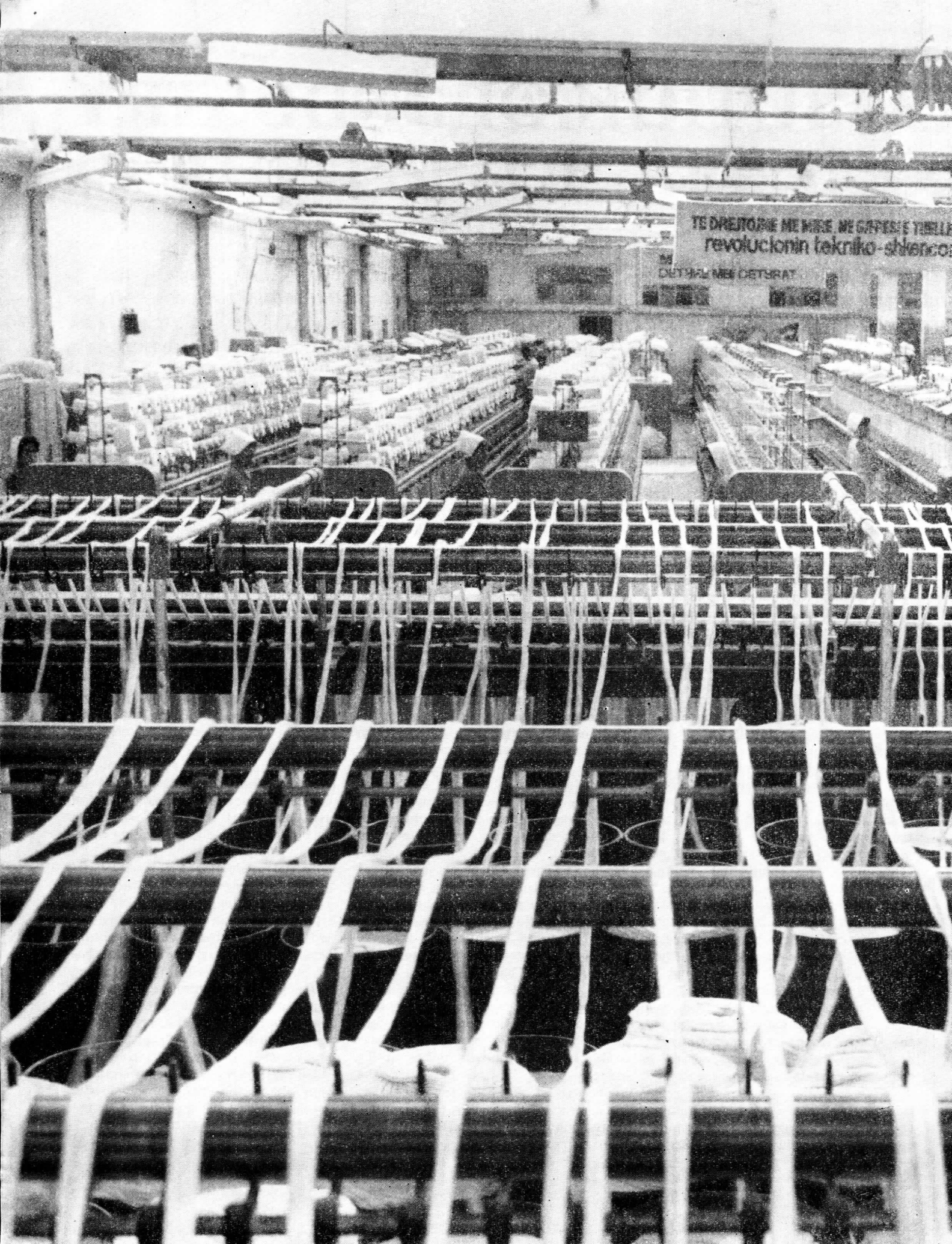
As Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in the meeting with the innovators of the district of Shkodra, today our country boasts about 470 plants, workshops and mechanical engineering bases distributed throughout its territory. The big and medium-sized districts have from 15 to 50 such units, and the small-sized districts have from 5 to 10 engineering bases.

The above-mentioned indices speak clearly of the fact that the results achieved in the harmonious socio-economic development of different zones and districts have their source in the correct policy of the Party, in the superiority of our socio-economic order. As a result of this policy, the mountainous regions, too, despite their poverty in resources and altitude, advance hand

in hand with the plain districts in their economic and cultural development. Despite achievements, however, there is room for further improvements which can be made through perfecting the structure of the branches of industry, and especially through a more rapid development of the light and food-stuffs industry.

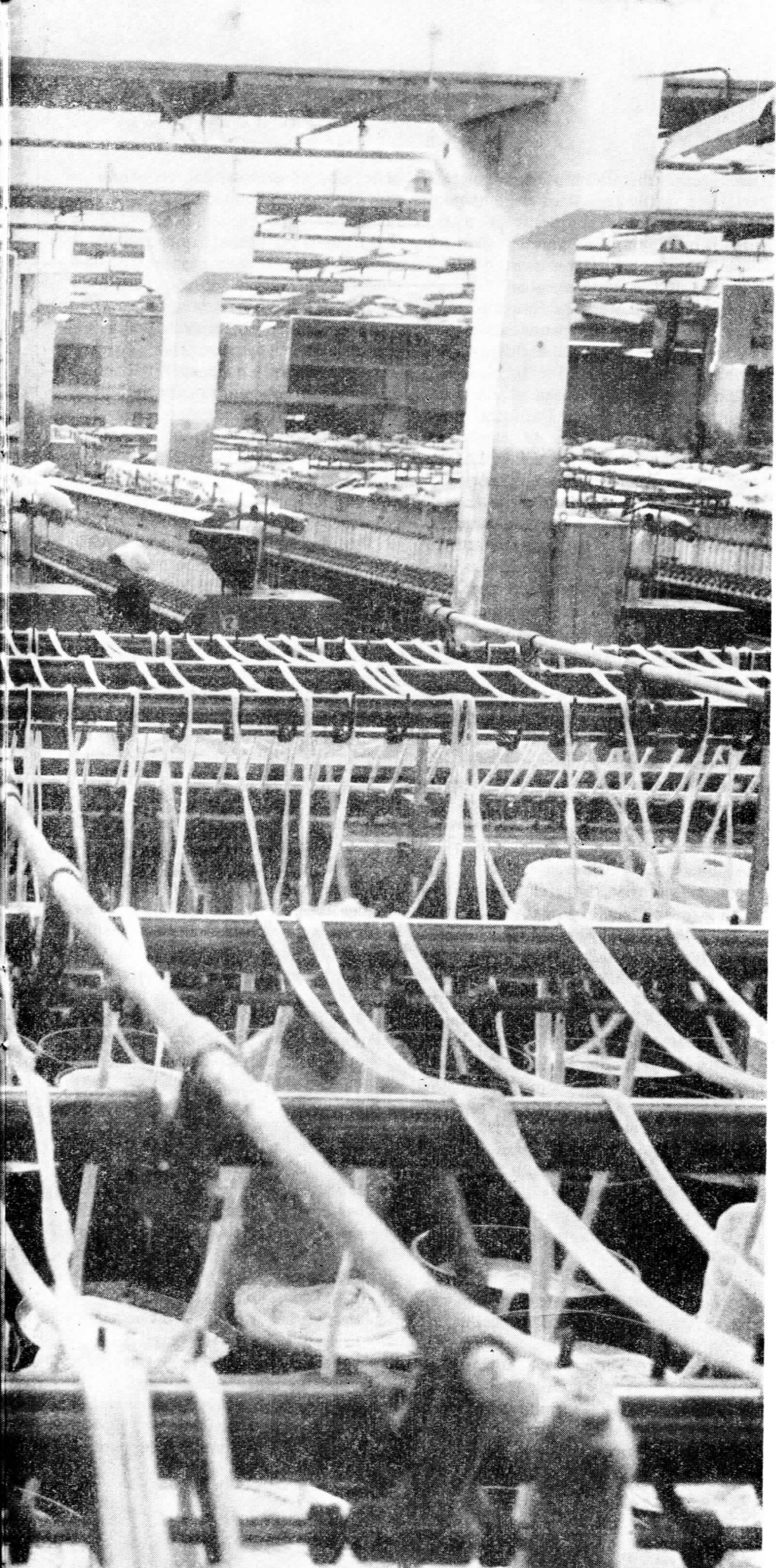
Another very important aspect which speaks volumes about the correct policy applied by the Party in the rational distribution of industry in the territory of our country is the **industrial production per head of the population**, the process of the continuous reducing of differentials among various regions with industrial level below the medium of the Republic in the past. From the point of view of distribution according to geographical zones, industrial production per capita of population has shown positive changes. In comparison with 1960, in 1980 industrial production per capita of population increased three fold.

Thanks to the high rates of development of industry, during this period all the districts of the country overcame the one-sided agrarian character and have been transformed into developed agrarian-industrial districts. In 1980, total industrial production comprised 68.7 per cent of the overall industrial-agricultural production of the country. At the end of the period 1960-1980, many regions were above the mean level of the Republic regarding the ratio of industrial production to agricultural production, or fluctuate, about this mean level.



TE DREJTORE ME MISE ME GAFESIS YIBELLA
revolucionin tekniko-shkencor

DITË E MË MË DËTURAT



Spinning mill

The above data show that, while at the end of the 1st Five-year Plan our country was an agricultural-industrial country, at the end of the 6th Five-year Plan, overcoming the profound backwardness inherited from the past, it was about to be transformed into an industrial-agricultural country. This phenomenon is occurring not only in the country at large, but also within each separate district. This achievement, among other things, is proof of the correct and rational distribution of the productive forces of industry throughout the territory of the country during this period.

The indices of industrial production are those which speak of the distribution of the productive forces of industry in a rational manner throughout the country. Industrial production, as a social process of the production of material goods, is linked closely with the human factor. Therefore, the changes in the indices of demographic processes, for their part, reflect the correct policy pursued by the Party for the rational distribution of the productive forces of industry.

The rapid development of industry in Albania is accompanied with the **numerical growth of the working class**. Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «...Together with the development and advance of the various branches of the economy, another historic victory of decisive importance for the destinies of our country has been achieved. It has to do with the creation and increase of the new working class, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the banner-bearer and leader in the construction of socialism in Albania.»²

Along with the growth of social wealth, the population of our country grows continuously, the whole able-bodied population is occupied with work, the standard of living of the working masses is raised continuously. Therefore, the Party has seen the development and proportional distribution of industry all over the territory of the country not only as an important condition for the liquidation of the profound backwardness inherited from the past and for the construction of the material and technical base of socialism, but also as the main road for the strengthening of the social

base of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. The development of industry and its rational distribution throughout the country brought about the quantitative and qualitative rise of the working class, ensured its presence in all districts and zones of the country, the strengthening of its leading role in all fields of the socialist construction.

The continuous increase of the part of the working class in the total number of the population is connected closely in a rational manner with the impetuous development of industry and its geographical distribution in a rational manner throughout the country, with its leading role with regard to the other branches of material production. V.I. Lenin pointed out that industry constitutes the basis of the socialist organization, it unites the working class which exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist industrialization is the main material factor of the increase and development of the working class in Albania. The increase and development of the working class, especially of the industrial working class, is clearly seen in the profound **quantitative and qualitative transformation of our towns and cities**.

The fact is that the greatest number of the towns has been set up in the zone of the north, southeast and central Albania, in which the discovery and exploitation of mineral assets has proceeded at very rapid rates during this period. Thus, for example, in 1960 the district of Kruja had only one town, whereas in 1980 it had five towns. During the same period this district had the highest rate of industrial development — production increased 47.6 fold. The same can be said of the districts of Mat, Mirdita, Puka, etc. Thus is the result of a great development, of the discovery of minerals and the exploitation of forests in these districts.

The increase in the number of towns on a national or zone scale, as well as the increase of the population of the towns, in general, and of the small- and medium-sized towns, in particular, is a distinctive feature of this period. This illustrates the fact that in our country industries are set up near the sources of primary mate-

rials and the work force, close to the consumers and roads of transport.

During the period under analysis an interesting fact is seen in the mechanical movement of the population from countryside to town. Laying emphasis on this problem, V.I. Lenin said that «...the big industry, which operates with machines, necessarily demands an amount of migrant population... The movement of workers from one enterprise to the other, from one part of the country to the other, becomes a necessity.»³ And further, «...if the population is not moveable it cannot develop...»⁴ The mechanical movement of the population in the period 1960-1980, apart from other things, reflects the proportional distribution of the productive forces of industry in the territory of the country.

During the period 1960-1979 the urban population has increased by several thousand inhabitants a year, due to the mechanical movement of the population. In the said period the greatest increase has been noticed especially in some small towns which have been characterized by relatively rapid development rates in industry. In this way, during the period 1969-1979 the population of Bulqiza has increased by 100.8 per cent, Ballsh — 75 per cent, Laç — 73.8 per cent, Patos — 38 per cent, Poliçan — 159 per cent, at a time when the increase in the urban population during this period has been at an average level of 30 per cent.

The phenomenon of the movement of population in different regions and districts of the country is connected, among other things, with the impetuous and proportional development of industry which plays a leading role in this process. Industry, which developed in each region and district of the country, not only coped with the absorption of the natural increase of the urban population, but also ensured the number of jobs for the occupation of part of the rural population that came to town — a movement which has been made according to plan and under control by the state. The opposite of this is noticed in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, which are characterized by chaotic, spontaneous movement of the popula-

tion in different regions, especially by the flow of rural population into the urban areas. The abandoning of the countryside, especially by the youth, has assumed very alarming proportions today, it has become an unavoidable chronic phenomenon which expresses the deep-going socio-economic crisis in these countries and is accompanied with the other regressive political, economic, sociological, geological and ecological phenomena and consequences.

The demographic processes are complex ones. In its context the increase in number of the working class residing in the country is a problem of interest for study. The fact that the mines, the forest exploitation establishments, etc., have been set up near the sources of primary materials is a recognized criterion of the distribution of productive forces. The presence of minerals and other sources in rural territories has dictated the development of mining industry in those territories, thus, transforming them into working centres or small towns, in which part of the work force of the village, mainly the men, are occupied with work in mineral extraction, whereas the rest of their families engage in agriculture.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out that it is a great success of our Party's policy «...that industry and agriculture are very near to one another, that the state enterprise and the agricultural cooperative are situated in the same territory, that the working class lives together with the peasantry.»⁵ Sources of information show that in the ten-year period 1969-1979,

worker families living in the countryside have increased 70 per cent, and those that live in towns 56 per cent. Whereas in the period 1969-1979 the part of the working class in the structure of the society increased by 7 per cent, the part of the population dwelling in the urban areas increased by 1.5 per cent. This has come about as a result of the development of some branches of industry, especially the oil and mining industries, forest exploitation, etc., in the zones of cooperatives, from which work forces have been drawn without moving the families from their residence. For this reason the criterion to judge the development of our country must be based not only on the ratio between the population dwelling in the urban area and the population dwelling in the rural area. Although the greater part of the Albanian population lives in the countryside, our country is advancing steadily and with rapid steps on the road of its transformation from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country.

The distribution of workers, especially the industrial workers with residence in the countryside, according to the branches of industry and the districts of the country is uneven. There are sectors like that of mining industry in which workers dwelling in rural zones make up about 56 per cent of the whole number of workers of this branch, the sector of oil industry with 60 per cent, and the forest exploitation with the whole number of workers dwelling in the countryside. In eight districts of the country, Librazhd, Puka, Kukës, Kolonja, Dibra, Pogradec, Tro-

poja, and Mirdita, the workers dwelling in the countryside in 1979 made up the majority of the number of the workers of these districts, 55-70 per cent. In fourteen other districts this number fluctuates from 5-9 per cent.

These were only some positive examples which speak about the correct, scientific and original policy worked out by the Party for the proportional distribution of the productive forces of industry in the territory of our country. The correctness of this policy is seen in our wonderful reality. Comrade Ramiz Alia, at the meeting with the cadres and the people of the district of Korça, pointed out that a new multi-branched industry which is developing and advancing relying on the local raw materials, on the products of the soil and underground assets of Albania, on the work and creative abilities of our people, has been built in our country. It ensures the fulfilment of the main needs of the whole population for industrial goods, and, to a considerable extent, also ensures the means necessary for its own renewal and extension. It represents a powerful base for the development of all other sectors of the economy and the strengthening of the defence of the Homeland.

1 *F. Engels, Anti-Dühring, Tirana 1974, pp. 339-340, Alb. ed.*

2 *Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1969-1970, p. 190, Alb. ed.*

3 *V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 3, pp. 647-648, Alb. ed.*

4 *Ibidem, p. 283.*

5 *Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 43, p. 493, Alb. ed.*

HIGHER EDUCATION ITS ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT AND ITS PROSPECTS

*The orientation
of the higher education
towards the people,*

*their culture, traditions and interests, the study of the Albanian language
of the soil and minerals of Albania, of the problems that are linked with
of our people, give our higher school its socialist content*

*In the course of this process it constantly assimilates the
technology and technique which respond to the demands*

ALBANIA, WHICH WAS LIBERATED FROM THE FOREIGN OCCUPIERS ON THE EVE OF THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, ON NOVEMBER 29, 1944, SET OUT ON THE ROAD OF ITS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT STARTING FROM A VERY LOW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT. IT WAS THE MOST BACKWARD COUNTRY OF EUROPE, IT HAD NO HIGHER SCHOOL, HAVING INHERITED FROM THE PAST ONLY A LIMITED NUMBER OF PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS, ALL TOLD 654 SCHOOLS WITH 1,550 TEACHERS, IT HAD ONLY 380 SPECIALISTS OF HIGHER QUALIFICATION TRAINED ABROAD, WHILE MORE THAN 85 PER CENT OF ITS POPULATION WAS ILLITERATE.

Faced with this economic and social situation, in order to eliminate the age-old backwardness and to reach the present level of development, along with measures of a political and economic character, the state power set up a democratic system of education for all cycles of schools. This education system has been in constant extension and development in accordance with the phases of the socio-economic development of the country and today it represents a harmonious system for the formation, specialization and scientific qualification of cadres, with its own original features, always in progress and in complete correlation with the present and future needs of our society. In order to be acquainted, within the scope of an article, with some of the fundamental features of higher education in Albania, the reader must consider the road of the evolution of the education system, in general, and the higher education, in particular, singling out the main lines and centering on their culminating points.

In order to put education in the **HASAN MUÇOSTEPA** — lecturer, vice-rector of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana

service of the construction of socialism, immediately after Liberation, in 1946, the people's state power carried out the education reform and set up a new education system which conformed to the needs of the development of the country. The Party and the people's state power worked out a correct education policy the fundamental directions of which have been and remain:

— as a means in the hands of the state, the school should serve for the education of the new generations, for the constant raising of the level of qualification of all the working people, for the narrowing down of the essential differences between the city and the countryside, between mental and manual labour, between the working class and the peasantry, between boys and girls;

— the school should develop on the basis of scientific planning, serve the economic and cultural advance of the country, be an important centre for the education and formation of the new man imbued with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the people's intelligentsia, and a valuable promoter of the ceaseless development of the culture of the country;

— the school should be built on sound scientific and pedagogical bases, relying on the outstanding national traditions of our education, culture and pedagogy, as well as on the progressive world tradition.

As a result of the implementation of this education policy our school has scored major achievements in its extension, its content and its methods of teaching and education. High-rate development has been the main feature of our school over these 42 years. We give below some of the more important indices to show the dynamics of the development of education in the country over these four decades.

In the first decade 1944-1954: illiteracy was wiped out for the whole population under 40 years of age; primary, 7-years and medium education was further developed; compulsory 7-year schooling was enforced throughout the country; many higher schools were set up such as the Two-year Teacher Training Institute in 1946, the Institute of Natural Sciences in 1947, the Four-year Teacher Training Institute, the High Polytechnical Institute and the High Institute of Farming in 1951, the High Institute of Medicine and the Institute of Economy in 1952 and the Institute of Jurisprudence in 1954; the number of pupils and students rose to 186,300, i.e. 13 per cent of the total population of the country; the total number of specialists of higher training rose to 1,100.

In the second decade 1954-1964: some other high schools such as the High Institute of Arts, the High Institute of Physical Culture and other teacher training institutes were set

ION IN ALBANIA- ELOPMENT

TS *by HASAN MUÇOSTEPA*

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up in some cities of the country; in 1957 many high institutes were united and on their basis the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana was formed. In the first year of its creation the University of Tirana had 6 faculties, 16 specialties, about 3,600 students and 200 teachers; the number of pupils and students rose to 451,400, i.e. 25 per cent of the total population of the country; the total number of specialists of higher training rose to 8,700.

In the third decade 1964-1974: the general 12-year system of education was set up based on three main components: learning, productive work and vocational practice and physical education and military training; in 1972 many sectors and institutes of scientific research separated from the University of Tirana, and on their basis the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was formed; the number of pupils and students rose to 701,300, or about 30 per cent of the total population of the country; the total number of specialists of higher training rose to 28,200.

In the decade 1974-1984 and in continuation: the main attention is paid to the qualitative improvement of the work of the school, the raising of the profitability of teaching, the further consolidation of the three components of the school, the strengthening and modernization of its laboratory base; a two-degree system of scientific qualification was set up: candidate of sciences and doctor of sciences; after the 8th Congress of the Party of Labour, in 1981, a regular system of

post-university specialization with one- to three-year courses was set up as a continuation of university courses; in these five years the number of post-university specialization courses rose to 64 of which 58 are run at the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana; in 1980 the Committee of Science and Technology was set up for the organization, direction and supervision of the development of scientific work throughout the country; the number of pupils and students at present is in excess of 760,000; the total number of specialists of higher training has reached 63,000.

A distinctive feature of the school and higher education in Albania has been and remains its planned development. The planned development of education is a component part of the general plan for the economic development of the country and is based on five, ten, fifteen- and twenty-year studies which take into account political, demographic and economic factors.

The number of students attending higher schools is planned according to the different stages of the socialist construction of the country, the needs of the economy and culture. The planned development of higher education has ensured its rhythmical development as regards not only quantity, but also quality. This planning is aimed at the regular fulfilment of the needs of the economy for specialists of higher training, hence, the number of students admitted to every branch is in conformity with these needs. Under the state plan, which is drafted in accordance with the development pros-

pects of the districts, each district sends to higher schools those students who have finished the middle school with the best results, aiming at meeting one of their three options. Immediately after graduation all the specialists of higher training are assigned to their particular jobs, hence, the threat of unemployment and the fear of the future are unknown to our student youth.

Students pay no fees for their higher school courses, moreover, they enjoy the right to a bursary dependent on the income of their families. At present about fifteen per cent of students have state bursaries. All the students that do not live with their families are accommodated in state boarding houses against a token monthly payment which is equal to one day's meals at the students' mess. Only in the «Student» town of the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana live more than 7,000 students.

The social composition of the students also conforms to the social structure of the classes and social strata of the population of the country. In order to ensure the training of the specialists of higher qualification from among the families of workers and peasants, which are the two main classes of our society, within certain limits, their children have been favoured and will continue to be favoured in the future, too. This measure of a pronounced class character gives our higher education its original feature and serves to narrow down the differences in the level of education between the city and the countryside. Thus, for example, in the school year

1985-1986 about 50 per cent of the students are children of workers and peasants, about 35 per cent are children of employees and about 15 per cent children of workers and employees, that is to say, one of the parents is an employee and the other is a worker.

In order to ensure the planned training of higher specialists, along with the education work done with the students, a number of measures of an organizational character are also taken. In the beginning of every school year higher schools work out the programmes of the development of the teaching process in which the terms are envisaged for the accomplishment of tasks, projects, seminars and laboratory work for each scientific discipline. The teachers of higher schools are not requested only to read lectures of a high scientific level, but also to systematically follow the preparation of the students all the year round. The teachers maintain regular contacts with the students, control them and see to it that they perform their tasks properly, assist them to overcome difficulties, give consultations for them so as to enable them to assimilate scientific knowledge as well as possible, activate them in scientific research and charge them with scientific information. Attendance is compulsory in our higher schools. In general, proficiency is above 85 per cent and, what is more important, there are no graduated specialists that have not been given jobs of their own specialty. At present girls account for about 46 per cent of higher school students, and the average age of higher school students is 21 years.

The mass and democratic character of education in Albania is shown among other things by the fact that the different cycles of schools are attended not only by regular pupils and students, but also by many production worker's through the system of evening and correspondence courses. For these working people many facilities, such as reduced working hours, compensation of their daily pay by the state and paid leave to prepare examinations and graduation theses, have been created.

For an idea of the high rate of development of higher education in Albania, we give below the dynamics of growth in the number of higher

school students graduated after the Liberation of the country, as compared with the year 1938:

	1938	1970	1980	1986
Total of specialists of higher training	380	15,200	47,550	63,000

Besides the increase of the number of specialists of higher training, particular attention is paid to their distribution according to the different branches of science. Based on planned development, our higher education, according to the tasks of each stage of the socialist construction of the country, has ensured both the quantity and quality of specialists of higher training for every branch and sector of the economy and culture, avoiding disproportions among social sciences and technical and natural ones. About 60 per cent of the specialists of higher training are graduated in engineering, agronomic and medical sciences and about 40 per cent for the sectors of education, culture and art.

Our school proceeds from the principle of self-reliance, hence, all the specialists needed for the development of the economy and culture are trained within the country. At present our higher school trains specialists in 70 relatively broad specialties.

The intensive development of many branches of the economy, the application of new techniques and technologies in production and the need for the rapid and proper solution of individual problems demanded that, attached to the higher school, a new system of schooling, that of long-term post-university specialization, should be set up. At present, attached to the higher schools 65 post-university courses with terms of study from one to three years are run, which, together with university courses, have created a complete system for the uninterrupted formation and specialization of the higher cadres. In this system the specialization of cadres is done within a shorter time and at a younger age, the direction is properly qualified and well-organized so as to endow the candidates with the necessary theoretical and professional

culture and enable them to scientifically assimilate national and world culture.

The system of post-university schooling has, on the one hand, assisted production, because the specialized cadres work on a higher theoretical and practical level, while, on the other hand, served to strengthen the links of the higher school with a broader and better qualified circle of specialists coming from production, to raise the theoretical level of the teaching process and to encourage the application and experimentation of new and more efficient forms of independent work.

Our higher education strives for a correct combination of the three component elements: learning, production work with vocational practice and physical and military training. The content of lessons, the permanent demand that students assimilate everything that is rigorously scientific and tested in practice, that all knowledge respond to the objective course of natural and social processes — constitute the distinctive features of our higher education.

The socialist nature of our higher education is expressed, in the first place, in the consistent application of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. In all the cycles of schooling the disciplines of this field are graduated and lie at the foundation of the ideological education and scientific formation. Thus, for example, in the courses of higher education, in all its specialties, are taught the History of the Party of Labour of Albania, Dialectical and Historical Materialism and the Political Economy of Capitalism and Socialism. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the teaching programmes of the higher school have been cleansed of any kind of mysticism, irrationalism, agnosticism and idealism.

The orientation of the higher education towards the people, their culture, traditions and interests, the study of the Albanian language, of the history, geography and the wealth of the soil and minerals of Albania, of the problems that are linked with the past, the present and the future of our people, give our higher school its socialist content and its national character. In the course of this process it constantly assimilates the achievements of modern science, technology

and technique, which respond to the demands of the present and future development of our country.

At present every subject matter has its relative books and texts which are prepared by our teachers. These books reflect the major achievements of our science and contemporary world science.

It is 16 years now since the component of production work and vocational practice is being applied in our whole education system. By means of this component our school realizes three main objectives: harmonization of education with revolutionary tempering, linking theory with practice and development of the technical-professional abilities of the pupils and students.

Practice has shown that work in production, together with the workers and peasants, has educated the students in the spirit of modesty, has cultivated in them respect for workers and cooperativists, has increased their love of work and served as a barrier to intellectualism. The programs of productive work and vocational practice are intended to acquaint the students with the means and ways to implement theoretical laws in practice, to attentively follow various processes and phenomena, to study new techniques and advanced technologies, to gain practical habits so as to be able later to produce material blessings and to direct and supervise various technological processes. With the basic objective of promoting teaching and broadening the horizon of students from one year to the other through productive work and vocational practice, students shift constantly from activities of a cognitive character to activities of a productive character. Terms for the assimilation of this component are set dependent on the specialty and for each year of study. Terms vary from one to two months, from the first year to the last. Last year, in the faculties of technical and natural sciences, the students were given a whole semester for the preparation of their graduation theses.

Along with teaching, productive work and vocational practice another important component of our school is the physical and military training of pupils and students. This component, too, is organized on the basis of our fundamental principle of the soldier

people. Pupils and students, the same as the whole soldier people, are organized in military detachments and trained theoretically and practically for the defence of the socialist Homeland. Physical and military training is graduated, it begins at the middle school, is completed in the higher school through a course of several months after graduation. In this manner students are trained as soldiers and military specialists according to the different specialties of the higher school.

Participation of the teachers together with the students in productive work, vocational practice and physical and military training have created a new relationship between them and served to implement in practice the demands of genuine and broad democracy. With us the student is not a passive element, but an element actively interested in the proficiency of all the work in the higher school. This democratic right of the student is sanctioned by law and figures in the rules of the higher schools. The students are represented in the chairs and the scientific councils of faculties of all higher schools. The students representatives are elected by the students themselves and their number makes up one third of all the members of these organisms. Students examine and formulate opinions about the level of the teaching process, teaching programs and textbooks, vocational practice and productive work and physical and military training. They have the right of vote and teachers render account before them for the subject matter they teach.

The teachers of higher schools are interested in the inclinations of their students, carry out differentiated work for the orientation, cultivation and further development of these inclinations. As the period of higher studies coincides with 18-23 years of age, when the perceptive and accumulating capacities of the students are at their maximum, the chairs work regularly for the activation of students in scientific-research activities. The more proficient students are organized in more advanced theoretical and practical cycles, are given more difficult annual tasks and works, are comprised within more specialized groups and, as a result, their initial specialization on the road of scientific research is achieved.

For the work of the new specialists to respond ever better to the all-round economic, social, cultural, scientific and technical development of the country, and the higher school to be ever better integrated into science and production, in the recent years the main attention has been paid to the further improvement of the quality of work of our school as a whole. This objective is synthesized in Comrade Enver Hoxha's instruction that «our school should endow the new generation with knowledge of a contemporary level.»

After 1981 in all the higher schools of the country a broad discussion was organized at which, apart from students and teachers, many qualified specialists of production and scientific research institutions participated, as well. This discussion resulted in the redrafting of the fundamental documentation of our higher school and the working out of new teaching plans and programs for the 70 specialties that are taught in our higher schools.

In the new teaching plans that have begun to be implemented after 1982, fundamental theoretical subjects, as well as subjects of each individual specialty have been strengthened, many obsolete disciplines have been removed from teaching programs and plans and replaced with others, the ratio between theory and exercises and laboratory work has been improved to the advantage of the latter two, the optimal charge of the students has been balanced better, etc., while the contemporary level of knowledge has been more accurately reflected in teaching programs, scientific information has been structured on more compact bases and classical knowledge has been organized more rationally.

For fresh information to be introduced into lessons, for many contemporary concepts and theories to be developed at a higher level and for more stringent general argumentation, which exercises a major influence on the theoretical and scientific formation of students, the teachers of the higher school are striving to impart the fundamental elements to the students, while relegating minor matters to the second plane.

The improvement of the qualitative level of teaching is constantly linked with the scientific-research acti-

vity of the teachers themselves. Modern higher education calls for teaching work and scientific activities to be closely linked and serve production. Although it is relatively young and created and developed in difficult circumstances and for meeting urgent needs, higher education in Albania has done much to overcome traditional concepts mechanically transplanted from the middle school and increased its contribution to the solution of scientific problems in all the fields of the life of the country.

From the «Enver Hoxha» University of Tirana and the other higher schools of the country many scientific research sectors have emerged which with the passage of time have become institutes on their own and most of them are now included under the jurisdiction of the Academy of Sciences. The chairs of the higher schools and these institutes have constantly coped with important tasks in various fields of scientific research. During the last five-year period 1980-1985 our higher schools and the Academy of Sciences have undertaken studies in many important fields such as those of hydro-energetics, geology, oil prospecting, mining, mechanical engineering, agriculture, etc. Suffice it to mention that about 60 per cent of the studies on a national scale are carried out now by the different institutes

of the Academy of Sciences and the higher schools. Many chairs of higher schools are already specialized in different fields of scientific research, deal with the study of important problems, have assumed the physiognomy of scientific institutions and have been turned into advanced centres of scientific thought for the fields they cover.

In cooperation with the other scientific institutions of the country, the higher schools have organized many important scientific activities on a national scale. Among these activities, in which many foreign specialists have also participated, we may mention the National Conference dedicated to the 500th anniversary of the death of Skanderbeg, the National Conference on the Ethnogenesis of the Albanian People, the Conference of the Spelling of the Albanian Language, the National Conferences dedicated to the Centenary of the Albanian League of Prizren, the National Conferences on hydro-technics, environment protection, chemistry, mathematics, biology, physics, seismology, etc.

On the basis of the summing up of the experience gained up to now and taking account of the present and future development of our country, the higher school has defined the main directions of its work for the future. The constant raising of the level of

qualification of our specialists of higher training calls for an ever broader Marxist-Leninist world outlook, an ever more precise knowledge of the laws of economic and social development, firm scientific cognitions, a broad theoretical horizon and advanced practical abilities for the rational utilization of modern technique and technology, and ever improving organizational skills for the scientific management of production.

The further strengthening of the links of teaching with actual life and practice from the stand-point of the integration of higher education and science into production, the finding of a optimum ratio between the scientific and teaching work of the teachers is another important task in this direction, hence, the chairs of the higher school should achieve better cooperation between them for the strengthening, specialization and qualification of the cadres, for a better definition and realization of scientific subjects.

As up to now, in the future, too, our higher school will support the socio-economic development of the country, will deal better with the main problems of present and future experience, will work it out on a higher theoretical and scientific level and will militate ever more actively for its implementation.

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

by Prof. SHABAN DEMIRAJ

The Albanian linguists, like many foreign linguists, and not only those of old generations, have pointed out a series of linguistic data which prove the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language and the early autochthonous character of the Albanian people on the eastern shores of the Adriatic and the Ionian Seas

MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES HAVE ELAPSED SINCE THE TIME WHEN THE LEADING SWEDISH SCHOLAR, JOHAN THUNMANN, IN HIS WELL-KNOWN WORK RESEARCH INTO THE HISTORY OF EAST EUROPEAN PEOPLES (1774), DREW THE ATTENTION OF SCIENTIFIC OPINION OF HIS TIME TO THE FACTS ABOUT THE ANCIENT CHARACTER OF A LITTLE KNOWN PEOPLE AS WERE THE ALBANIANS AT THAT TIME, RELYING ON INFORMATION FROM THEIR LANGUAGE. THIS ANCIENT LANGUAGE OF THE BALKANS WAS TO ATTRACT THE ATTENTION OF A NUMBER OF LINGUISTS SUBSEQUENTLY, ESPECIALLY DURING THE 19TH-20TH CENTURIES, WHEN HISTORICAL COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS ASSUMED EVER GREATER DEVELOPMENT. OUTSTANDING SCIENTISTS SUCH AS F. BOPP, G. MAYER, H. PEDERSEN, DH. KAMARDA, N. JOKL, M. LA PIANA, A. XHUVANI, K. CIPO, E. ÇABEJ, M. DOMI, I. AJETI, AND OTHERS, HAVE DEVOTED SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE HISTORIC STUDY OF THE ALBANIAN LANGUAGE, MAKING THEIR INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE ELUCIDATION OF MANY QUESTIONS OF THE HISTORY OF THIS LANGUAGE AND ITS EVOLUTION IN THE COURSE OF CENTURIES.

It is self-understood that the task of providing a complete sound solution to questions related with the history of the Albanian language presented great difficulties. These difficulties stem, in the first place, in the absence of early written documents, because,

as is known, the Albanian language, like Rumanian and Lithuanian, for known historical reasons, began to be cultivated at a relatively later time than many other Indo-European languages. Whereas in the opinion of the earlier generations of scholars the origin of the Albanian language from Illyrian and the descendance of

the Albanian people from the Illyrians was a thesis beyond any doubt, by the end of the past century, and especially during the 20th century, some foreign linguists and historians have come out with entirely different hypotheses opposing the said thesis. These hypotheses have a semblance of linguistic «background» on which their authors claim to have built them. Among other things, they pretend that the phonetic system of the Albanian language is different from that of the Illyrian language and more akin to that of the Thracian language, or the so-called Dacian-Mysaeian language, and add that this new circumstance as well as the ancient coincidences, especially in vocabulary, between Albanian and Rumanian are conducive to the conclusion that the Albanian language is the result of the development and evolution of a Thracian dialect. Hence, according to them, the ancestors of the Albanians migrated, at some

indefinite time, from the eastern regions of the Balkans to establish themselves on the western regions of this Peninsula. Here is not the case to go into details connected with the inaccuracy of these «arguments» which, on many occasions, have been used for extra-scientific purposes. The Albanian linguists, and many foreign linguists alike, and not only those of old generations, have pointed out a series of linguistic data which prove the Illyrian origin of the Albanian language and the early autochthonous character of the Albanian people on the eastern shores of the Adriatic and the Ionian Seas. Such a thing was observed since 1774 by J. Thunmann who, in his above-mentioned work, page 245, admits among other things that «In their history I have found nothing indicating of any late migration: their language contains such proofs of the destiny of this people that I cannot fail to see in them the very ancient neighbours of the Greeks and the subjects of ancient Rome. And both of them indicate the Illyrians.»

This conclusion of Thunmann was supported with argument and further corrected by different linguists, both foreigners and Albanians, among whom we may mention G. Mayer, H. Pedersen, P. Kretschmer, N. Jokl, E. Çabej and others. This conclusion, reached on the basis of the historical analyses of data from the Albanian language, has found strong support also in archaeological finds, in the sources of history and popular culture. A conclusion, thus, reached from different roads, undoubtedly, carries greater conviction.

Research and studies about the source of the Albanian language and the genesis of the Albanian people — two questions connected so closely with one other — should continue, and in the present case inter-disciplinary collaboration is still more necessary. The question here is not only about a further clarification of questions regarding the source of the Albanian language and the genesis of our people, but also of throwing light on the factors responsible for the gradual transformation of the Illyrian ethnos. The elucidation of these factors is, undoubtedly, very difficult for the reason that our knowledge of the Illyrian language and the earliest phase of the Albanian language is scarce, just as knowledge about the Illyrian tribes

and the earliest phases of the Albanian ethnos is rather limited. Moreover, we derive our information about Illyrians from foreign historians of the antiquity, who could not possibly have been well-informed and still less objective, anyway.

But, even in this case, difficulties, despite their great number, are not insuperable. This, however, calls for still greater work, the exploitation, for this purpose, of all available sources and the strict scientific implementation of the method of proceeding from the known to the unknown.

Besides the place of the formation of the Albanian language, which is connected directly with the question of the autochthony of our ancestors on their territories, at least since ancient Greek-Roman times, it is of special importance to determine the time when the final transition from Illyrian to Albanian occurred. From linguistic studies made recently it emerges that this transition should have been accomplished approximately between the 4th-6th centuries of our era. About this question also further research is certainly necessary.

Another question which has attracted the attention of historians of the Albanian language is that of the periodization of the history of this language on the basis of information that can be obtained therefrom.

Further deepening of knowledge and development in those two fields of historical studies will throw much more light also on the question of the so-called influence of the Latin language on the grammatical structure of Albanian. The question here is about a further clarification of the issue, because Pedersen's soundly supported idea that «the influence of Latin on the flexion of Albanian is equal to zero», remains valid beyond the slightest shade of doubt.

Nevertheless, it has been accepted that the long Roman domination has left its traces in the Albanian language, mainly in its vocabulary, in which a considerable number of Latin words, including some word-building affixes, have penetrated. Besides, the long-standing contacts between our people and other peoples have also left their traces in the vocabulary of the Albanian language, in which historical studies have pointed out the presence of a certain number of loan words from old, middle and modern Greek, Slav, Turkish and Italian. Inversely, words from the Al-

banian language have also found their way into the neighbouring languages. People, especially neighbours, have had give-and-take relations not only in the field of language, but also in the field of the material and spiritual culture. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, «During the centuries, in the relations with other peoples around us, we have borrowed from them, but they also have borrowed from our material and spiritual culture. This means that we, too, have influenced others through our struggle and culture, and that the others have likewise left their traces in the life and culture of our people. These we must not overshadow or treat in an one-sided manner, but must see them with scientific objectivity.»

Also regarding the question of linguistic borrowings, avoiding of one-sidedness and scientific objectiveness are two imperative requirements without which this question cannot be elucidated properly and thoroughly. But until today, some students have laid excessive stress on loan words which have come into the Albanian language from other languages, though efforts have not lacked to point out what the Albanian language has given to the other languages. These efforts, which are more conspicuous in the works of G. Mayer, E. Çabej, I. Ajeti, and others, should be continued further and not be limited to the field of the vocabulary; they must include other linguistic fields, in order to bring out the influence of Albanian in the neighbouring languages more completely.

The study of loan words in the Albanian language from other languages still has a long way to go. In the first place, it is necessary to make the chronological stratification of loan words and their geographical extension. This must be done especially in regard to borrowings from Latin, Greek, Slav and Turkish. The chronological stratification of them, besides creating a more accurate idea about the time of their penetration into the Albanian language, will also help for a more complete elucidation of some phenomena regarding the Albanian language itself, seen in its historical evolution. It is important not to overlook the fact that foreign words are subjected to phonetical laws and rules of the grammatical structure which operate in the receiving language at the time when borrowings occur.

No less important is the geographical regionalization of loan words in the Albanian language, in order to create a more correct and complete idea of the degree of influence of other languages on it. Precisely because distinctions between all-language, dialectal and sub-dialectal Slavisms in Albanian have not been made quite properly, the Slav influence on this language has been unjustly overestimated by some linguists, such as Selišćev. This remark applies also to Albanian loan words from the Greek, Italian and Turkish languages.

Chronological stratification and geographical extension are two essential requirements for an objective study of foreign place names found in the territories inhabited by Albanians. This includes especially place names of Slav source, which have been the source of controversies among foreign students. Some of them, failing to delve deep into the linguistic-historical analysis of such place names, and sometimes impelled by extrascientific motives, have drawn untenable historical conclusions, claiming that the ancestors of the Albanians have migrated to their present territories at a relatively late period, and claimed the Thracian origin of the Albanian language. These claims, which have been justly opposed by a number of linguists and historians — both foreigners and Albanians — lack linguistic and historical ground. It is sufficient to bring to their attention the recognized facts about the smaller degree of changes of a linguistic character which even the oldest Slav place names, compared with place names of Latin origin, have undergone in the mouth of the Albanians. The question here is about linguistic mutations characterizing the different phases of the evolution of the phonetical system of the Albanian language, which proves that both Latin place names and place names of Slav origin have come down generation after generation through the mouth of the ancestors of present-day Albanians.

The presence of a considerable number of toponyms of Slav origin in the territories inhabited by Albanians is something known. Part of these toponyms, which have undergone the greatest phonetic changes, in all likelihood, are dated as of the 10th century or even further back, whereas the bulk of them are of a

relatively recent date. Apart from this consideration, these place names have an unequal distribution in different Albanian territories. They are more widespread in those regions which were more exposed to the influence of the established Slav administration, especially during their rather long invasions, as happened, for example, in Southern Albania during the 9th-10th centuries, in the time of the invasion of these territories by the Bulgarian kingdom. The same thing must probably have occurred also during the invasion of different Albanian territories by the Serbs, especially in the time of Czar Stephan Dušan (14th century).

The question of place names of Slav origin in the territories inhabited by Albanians requires many-sided research and studies: historical, linguistic and sociological. These studies should not overlook an ancient tradition of the Albanians who, whenever they moved from one territory to another for various reasons, named their new places according to the name of the abandoned village or hamlet. A reliable proof of this is found, among other things, in the many toponyms which the Arbëreshi of Italy gave to the places where they settled in order to keep alive the memory of the land of their forefathers. The same is supposed to have happened also with many toponyms of Slav and non-Slav origin within Albanian territories.

The attention of Albanian and foreign linguists has been attracted for a long time also by coincidences of early lexical units between Albanian and Rumanian, as well as by common phenomena noticed in the Balkan languages. The presence of these coincidences in the Balkan languages is a clear proof of the many-centuries long relations between the peoples of the Balkans and their common historical destinies. These coincidences, which have been made the object of research for nearly two centuries, constitute a field of studies that require the collaboration of all linguists engaged in the historical explanation of Balkanism. Their common aim should be the finding of the truth. But as a prerequisite of this kind of work, it is important to observe a rigorous scientific objectivity and renounce one-sidedness and prejudice, which, unfortunately, still is noticed among some linguists, especially Slavs. In this

case, ungrounded conclusions should leave their place to the objective historical examination of common facts and phenomena in each of the Balkan languages, so as to finally establish the relative time of the emergence of them in this or that language, as well as the common and individual trends of the evolution of the various Balkan languages. Only in this way will it be possible to properly explain the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, which caused the spread of these common phenomena in the Balkans from one or several radiating focusses. In the last decades, the new Albanian linguistics has participated in and has made its contribution to this field of studies. Naturally, research in this field must be intensified still more in the future, because in this manner, the historical evolution of the Albanian language, which is one of the oldest languages of the Balkans, will be illuminated still better.

Another question, which attracts the attention of the historians of the Albanian language is also that concerning the time when it began to be written. It is generally accepted, and not without reason, that Gjon Buzuku's book (1555) marks not the beginning but the continuation of a tradition of writing — the written Albanian. In favour of this admission there are testimonies by some foreign and Albanian authors, as well as arguments of a linguistic character. Nevertheless, here too much remains to be done in order to pinpoint and prove with argument the time when the Albanian language began to be written, and further clarify the historical facts and social factors which hampered the cultivation of this language earlier.

In the field of studies of the history of the Albanian language there is a series of questions still waiting to be clarified and further illuminated. Hence, the tasks which emerge before our new linguistics in this field of studies, too, are as important as they are difficult. But the Albanian linguists, who have been trained and educated in the epoch of the Party, will know how to carry out these tasks successfully. A sure guarantee for this are the important achievements hitherto and the very favourable conditions which have been created in our country for the development of sciences, in general.

SOCIALISM OR ANTI-SOCIALISM

by Prof. SOTIR MANUSHI

THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND THE PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM HAVE ASSUMED TODAY AN EXCEPTIONALLY GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR THE REASON THAT SOCIALIST IDEAS AND PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS THE WAYS AND METHODS OF THEIR PRACTICAL REALIZATION ARE AT THE CENTRE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN MARXISM-LENINISM, ONE THE ONE HAND, AND THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST IDEOLOGY, WHICH TRIES TO SOW CONFUSION AND DISORIENTATION OVER THE PROBLEM OF SOCIALISM, ON THE OTHER.

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE BOURGEOIS, LIBERAL AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGISTS BEGAN TO TALK ABOUT DIFFERENT «MODELS» OF SOCIALISM. BY MEANS OF THESE «MODELS» THEY TRIED TO OPPOSE THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY AND REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE OF SCIENTIFIC OF SOCIALISM, TO ESTRANGE THE PROLETARIAT FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM. AND TO RE-ESTABLISH CAPITALISM IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THESE «MODELS» OF SOCIALISM WERE DISHED OUT UNDER DIFFERENT NAMES: DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, «HYBRID SOCIETY» (NEITHER CAPITALIST NOR SOCIALIST), «HUMANE SOCIALISM», «PLURALISTIC SOCIALISM», «RELIGIOUS SOCIALISM» AND OTHER BOURGEOIS AND PETTY-BOURGEOIS SOCIALIST TRENDS.

Vying with the bourgeois and reformist ideologists to provide an alternative form of socialism of their own, different currents of modern revisionism have emerged, too. Thus, the theories of «self-administrative socialism» of the Yugoslav revisionists, «developed socialism» of the Khrushchevite revisionists, «socialism» with Chinese colours, «the third road» or «pluralistic socialism» of the Euro-communists, etc. began to spread. In this manner the bourgeois, reformist and modern-revisionist ideologists joined forces on a common ideological front so as to be able to oppose their anti-socialism to socialism.

In these conditions there was an exacerbation of the struggle between those who defend true socialism and those who reject it, between the Marxist-Leninists who remain loyal to the socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the reformists and revisionists who have slid into the positions of anti-socialism.

The bourgeois and reformist ideologists, the «leftists» and all the currents of modern revisionism, all the enemies of socialism, want to discredit the theory and practice of scientific socialism. The socialism that was built in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the socialism that is being

built in Albania, is the true socialism based on the teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. The «socialism» of the bourgeois, reformist and revisionist currents is in utter opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The theses that are opposed to scientific socialism are different, but all of them are intended to deprive socialism of its true essence. Such are the theses of the «pluralism of socialist ideas as a powerful impulse», «the crisis in the organized socialist forces and socialist thinking», the «liberation of socialism from technocratic views», especially in regard to social problems, the «centering of attention on the relationship between man and nature as a specific guarantee for harmonious development», the refutation of the existence in the past and today of socialism in the world, «state socialism» which is identified with the bureaucratic counter-revolution, the negation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in socialist society, socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, «pluralistic socialism» in the economic, social, political and ideological fields, etc.

The different enemies of socialism clamour loudly about all these problems, organize discussion after discussion at which all sort of anti-socialist views are presented. They are not content with the harm they have done to socialism in the second

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half of the 20th Century but try to blur out any perspective of socialism in the 21st Century as well. Of course, the reformists and revisionists will do everything in their power to stop the advance of genuine socialism, to perpetuate capitalism, but the revolution and socialism will forge always ahead. And the socialism of the 21th Century will be the continuation of the socialism that was established in the Soviet Union after the triumph of the October Revolution and in Albania after the triumph of the people's revolution. The variants of «socialism» that the bourgeois, modern-revisionist, reformist and «leftist» ideologists preach will suffer defeat just as their predecessors — «petty-bourgeois socialism», «genuine socialism», «German socialism, etc. in the time of Marx and Engels.

As early as 1850, K. Marx has stressed that socialism «... is the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as an absolutely necessary stage to go over to the *elimination* of class distinctions in general...» This shows that Marx did not separate socialism from the dictatorship of the proletariat. For their part, the opportunists, ranging from Bernstein and Kautsky to the modern Titoite, Khrushchevite, Chinese and Euro-communist revisionists, have abandoned the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat not only in theory, but also in practice. The aim of all these trends hostile to Marxism is to smear

the dictatorship of the proletariat by applying to it various labels which present it as a «totalitarian», «closed», «fascist», «anti-democratic» society, etc., etc.

Through its struggle against the modern revisionists and all anti-Marxist trends, the PLA develops further and implements in a creative manner the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. «The example of Albania,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, «is a new experience in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat and constitutes a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialism and Marxism-Leninism».

Genuine socialism is built and developed only under the leadership of the party of the proletariat. «In the last analysis,» Marx and Engels have stressed, «every true proletarian party... has always put forward as a precondition a class policy, the organization of the proletariat in an independent political party and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the immediate goal of its struggle». This clearly shows that the question of the leading role of the Party is not a tactical problem, but a problem which has to do with the fundamental principles of the socialist transformation of society.

All the opportunist and revisionist trends, past or present, attack the genuine Marxist-Leninist party and its leading role in the revolution and socialism. This is the purpose of the

theories of political pluralism «the party of the entire people», «the party as an ideological factor», «democratic pluralism», «the party of the masses», «the world party», etc.

All the reformist and revisionist theories on the party, the PLA has pointed out, have as their ultimate goal the transformation of the parties of the proletariat into tools for the protection of capitalism, for the defence of the class interests of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism.

There is no genuine socialism without the establishment of the socialist social ownership over the means of production. The liquidation of the capitalist ownership and its replacement with state social ownership through the implementation of the policy of socialist nationalization, and the transformation of the small-sized private property into socialist cooperativist property through the collectivization of agriculture constitute one of the general laws of socialist construction. The essence of socialism as a social order, its historic superiority is conditioned, in the first place, by the character and the mode of production which has the predominance of social ownership as its main feature.

Following in the footsteps of the bourgeois and socialdemocrat ideologists, all the modern revisionists without exception, some more openly and some others more covertly, are for the preservation of private

ownership and state capitalist collective ownership over the means of production, for economic pluralism, «self-administrative socialism», etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «It has been already proved now that socialism cannot exist without the elimination of capitalist property, without the destruction of the bourgeois state. Socialism can never exist without the establishment of social ownership over the means of production in all sectors without exception, without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat».

State and collective property may be socialist or capitalist. It is socialist only when the dictatorship of the proletariat exists. In the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries state and collective property is capitalist because the dictatorship of the proletariat has been overthrown and the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie has been established instead.

Capitalist relations of ownership in the revisionist countries also determine capitalist relations in the field of distribution, organization and management.

The modern revisionists in power place in the first plane «the relationship between man and nature», «the securing of a high level of development of the productive forces». That in socialism the relationship between man and nature assumes particular importance, that the productive forces are the more mobile and revolutionary element, this is more than clear. However, putting the stress on the development of the productive forces and neglecting the role of the relations of production, when it is known that precisely the relations of

production are the criterion for determining the nature of a given socioeconomic order, this means only to cover up the existence of the capitalist relations of production in the revisionist countries in the form of state and collective ownership over the means of production.

The anti-Marxist treatment of the role of the productive forces is also apparent in the definition on the part of the Khrushchevite revisionists of the fundamental contradiction of «developed socialism». According to them, this contradiction emerges «specifically between the level of development attained by the productive forces and the state of the socialist relations of production». This thesis puts on a par capitalism and socialism. According to it, the same fundamental contradiction as operates in capitalism operates in socialism, too.

It is true that in the socialist society, too, there exist contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production. But to accept that this constitutes the fundamental contradiction, the same as in capitalism, means to hide the fundamental distinctions between capitalism and socialism, to absolutize the role of the productive forces and to intentionally under-rate the role of the relations of production.

The PLA has rejected the thesis of the revisionists on the so-called crisis of socialism and pointed out that behind this thesis is hidden the aim to present the crisis of capitalism as the crisis of social-imperialism. Also, the PLA has forcefully exposed the bourgeois-revisionist «plu-

ralisms» which are alien to true socialism. All types of «pluralism» are to the advantage of the bourgeoisie, of its political and economic rule.

In this manner all the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois concepts of right or «left» socialism negate the basis laws and principles of socialism, which are common for all countries that will go to socialism. Without such laws there can and will be no socialism. Socialism will acquire different aspects which depend on socioeconomic conditions, on the road of the development of the revolution, on traditions, on international circumstances, etc. However, the basic principles and the general laws of socialism are unchangeable and necessary for all countries. Accordingly, the PLA points out, today there is no need for the invention of «new» socialisms. The socialisms that preach all the bourgeois, opportunist and revisionist currents are anti-socialism, are among the forms of the present-day bourgeois society which are employed to disorientate the people who fight for true socialism.» The claims that socialism can be built by means of the so-called self-administration, political pluralism or the state of the entire people, etc., said Comrade Ramiz Alia at the solemn meeting dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Liberation of the Homeland, «are theories and practices intended to deprive the working class of its power and perpetuate capitalist rule. It has been proved not only theoretically, but also by our forty years practice that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only state power, the only form of government that can quell the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, cope with external aggression and organize the construction of socialism.»

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THE CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS ANTI-ALBANIAN SHORT-SIGHTED POLICY

«ZERI I POPULLIT» — organ of the CC of the PLA.

The 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia ended its proceedings in mid-June of this year. This time it attracted special attention, not only among the Yugoslav opinion, but also among the international public opinion. The grave economic, political and national crises which have this country in their grip, and the roads sought for getting over this situation have only added to this attention. The question is asked: What road shall post-Tito Yugoslavia take? The congress gave no answer to it. The ills of Yugoslavia, which have their source in the failure of self-administration, can hardly be cured and, what is worse, their consequences are unpredictable.

We, as a neighbouring country of Yugoslavia, want it to have stability, because this is for the good of its peoples and for the good of peace and security in the Balkans. Towards Yugoslavia we have followed the policy of good neighbourliness and have endeavoured to establish relations of mutual interest with it in all fields in which collaboration has been possible. We have never interfered in its internal affairs, have never threatened the freedom and independence, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia.

But from across the border

we have received enmity in return for our friendship, chauvinist attacks in return for our internationalism. Persistence in this anti-Albanian policy came out in all its aggressiveness also in the present congress of the LCY. It took no constructive step in the direction of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Moreover, the arguments which the Yugoslav leaders brought at the congress in order to support this policy are unfounded and worn out. They accuse us, more or less, that «Albania interferes in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia», that «it incites and supports Albanian irredentists», that «it has territorial claims on Yugoslavia», that «it indoctrinates Yugoslav citizens», and so on. Indeed, there was one who, carried away by his zeal, spoke about «aggressive aspirations of Albania against Yugoslavia».

Apparently, people in Belgrade are trying to find outsiders on whom to lay the blame for their internal difficulties, to kindle the psychosis of threats in order to divert the attention of the people from the worries which really preoccupy them.

Is it true that «Albania's interferences» influenced in the creation of all the splits that occurred in the political and economic system of Yu-

goslavia, about which there was so much talk at the congress? Is it we Albanians that indoctrinated the Slovene youth in the protests which they made and the re-ventications which they presented at the congress of the Yugoslav Youth? Are there really people with enough good sense who believe the claims which are continuously circulated in Belgrade that the spirit of romanticism of the Albanian literature of the last century is responsible for the national quarrels in Yugoslavia?

Quite a few speakers at the Yugoslav congress ceaselessly repeated the old refrain that allegedly Albania has territorial claims on Yugoslavia. But no one brought a single fact to support it. And such facts could not be produced because there are none, directly or indirectly connected with it. What the Yugoslavs say are only insinuations, things which they invent in order to keep alive the chauvinist spirit inside their country and to stain the image of Socialist Albania abroad. But, if the historical fact that the Albanians are descendants of the Illyrians is considered as a territorial claim, as the seminar of the Serb Academy in Belgrade proclaimed, then we are really helpless. We are descendants of the Illyrians,

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and we cannot change, the genesis of our people so in the eyes of the Serb academicians and in the minds of the Belgrade politicians, obviously, we shall remain for ever «a people with territorial claims.»

From what we are hearing, the chauvinist fever is the cause of many hallucinations in the ruling circles of Belgrade. But if they think that we Albanians will give up our national identity, will sacrifice our freedom, independence and sovereignty, will depart from the road of our revolution and from the political line of the Party of Labour and Enver Hoxha so that the Yugoslavs behave «generously» towards us and stop calling us «Great-Albanians», this will never happen. Nor will it ever happen in face of the threats uttered by the leader of Serbia, Dobrivoje Vidić, at the 13th Congress of the LCY about «the re-examination of the levels achieved in the existing fields of collaboration between the two countries.»

We have already become accustomed to the Yugoslav pressure and threats, with which they have pounded free Albania over more than 40 years of its existence. We have lived on and we have lived very well, we have developed and have advanced, and have done without the love of Belgrade. As for the «levels of collaboration» between the two countries,

which are at a very low ebb and restricted only to a few narrow fields, and which Vidić wants to wipe out altogether, they are not to Albania's advantage only.

It is a known thing that between Albania and Yugoslavia there are many contradictions of an ideological and political character, and problems which have been left over from the past and others which have been created in modern times. The Yugoslav leaders, as they themselves showed at the last congress of the LCY, want to deepen them and make them worse. Vidić's threat confirms it. The responsibility for this policy and for its consequences, however, rests with the Yugoslav side.

We have been and are for good neighbour relations, have been and are for the strengthening of freedom and independence of the peoples of the Balkans, including Yugoslavia, we are for peace and general security in this zone. We have considered and still consider that the establishment and extension of trade, cultural, technical-scientific relations, etc., serve the creation and preservation of those conditions and that atmosphere which are needed for the countries and peoples to live in peace and friendship among them.

But this cannot be achieved without mutual will and desire, which we do not see in the Yugoslav leaders.

This congress was expected

to examine seriously and with responsibility the problem of Kosova, its grave situation and poverty about which the whole world is speaking. But nothing was said about all this. Kosova and the Albanians were denigrated and threatened. No one was preoccupied for its undeveloped situation, for the 120 thousand unemployed, for the social and other problems of this region.

At the congress there was talk about and decisions were made on new coercive measures, the further restriction of the autonomy of Kosova and the democratic and national rights of the Albanians. The resolution adopted on Kosova leaves the two million Albanians of Yugoslavia practically at the mercy of the Great-Serbs. And this course is now being applied. The Serb courts of justice have been working havoc. Now no one can keep count of the thousands of Kosova boys and girls that have been thrown into jail and of the countless others who have been discriminated against and isolated, and others still who feel outraged and humiliated.

The Great-Serbs are riding at full gallop and no one knows where they will stop. Their thirst for hegemony and domination, however, cannot be quenched only with Kosova and the Albanians. Inside one state it is not possible to have free Croats and oppressed Albanians, to

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respect the Slovene language and culture and to deny the Albanian language and culture. In Yugoslavia this thing must be understood, the lessons of history should not be forgotten.

The charges made against the Albanians of Yugoslavia that they allegedly want to destroy the Yugoslav state and create a Great-Albania are entirely baseless and out-and-out inventions.

The Albanians know the historical realities quite well and have never lacked political wisdom. What they demand is that they must have the same rights as the other nationalities of Yugoslavia, that the Yugoslav constitution and the other founding laws which are in power there should be respected and implemented for them, too, they should not be discriminated against and segregated.

In order to deny the national and democratic rights to the Albanians and to give a theoretical basis to the chauvinist policy, there is great discussion now in Yugoslavia about the nation and the state, about the mother country and the filial country, about national minorities and majorities. They try to support all this by referring to the Roman and Indian, Soviet and Swiss legislations. All this, however, is nothing but Byzantine discussion and theorizing. The fact is that in Yugoslavia there are four times as ma-

ny Albanians as Montenegrins, and, as regards numbers they come third next to Serbs and Croats. And they have not come to Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia now, but have inhabited those territories centuries before the Slavs came down to the Balkans.

Like the other nations of Yugoslavia, with their struggle against the oppressive regime of the Serb kingdom and the fascist invaders, the Albanians of Yugoslavia are among the founders of the Yugoslav Federation, therefore, they must necessarily enjoy all rights which derive from this fact.

Therefore, it is unimaginable that the Albanians should be the ones who want the destabilization and decomposition of Yugoslavia. Its destabilization is instigated by those who deny the constitutional rights to its own nations, who are for the disruption of the coexistence among peoples, who want to bring back the past when the Great-Serbs were lording it over the others.

The problems of Kosova are grave but they can be solved if they are considered with a cool head and realistically. Denying them their legitimate rights, oppressing them and using nationalist violence against them, which was also expressed in the work of the 13th Congress of the LCY, is a blind alley.

The time has come for the

Yugoslav leaders to understand that their internal situation is not improved by accusing the Albanians, the Greeks, the Bulgarians and others of interference. They must not try to find enemies outside their country, but must try to eliminate the real causes which foster national, economic and social inequalities which create favourable terrain for the intervention of imperialist powers.

Speaking at the congress about the Balkans, the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Dizdarević, said that «many-sided collaboration in the fields of mutual interest for the countries of the Balkans is the way for the creation of conditions to reducing tension where tension still exists. It is also the road towards constructive dialogue for the controversial problems which have remained open, for their solution and for the materialization of the aspirations of the peoples of the Balkans to live in lasting peace and friendship.»

Such a statement is welcome. But whom should we trust, Dizdarević or Vidić. Certainly, we will believe the facts and not words. And the facts until now do not show a sincere desire on the part of the Yugoslav leaders to preserve and develop good neighbourliness among the Balkan countries, to strengthen peace and security in this zone.

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SUPERPOWER ARROGANCE — A DANGEROUS PHENOMENON IN THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE

«ZËRI I POPULLIT»

There is a dangerous increase in the international arena of the arrogance of the superpowers, a phenomenon of extremely grave consequences, which is directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples, against the whole community of the world today and in the future.

As never before, arrogance has become an essential part of the conduct of the superpowers in the political life of the world, has become their main political philosophy. Comrade Ramiz Alia, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, has pointed out, «The rivalry of the superpowers and other imperialist countries for hegemony and world domination, their aggressiveness, their strategy of intervention, dictate and domination actually affect every country.»

What the United States undertook against Libya was dictated by the prepotence and overbearing of a superpower which gives itself the liberty to attack and strike a blow against any nation

and country which refuses submission to the American dictate. The result of this arrogance is also the right of the superpowers to take reprisals against the peoples, a right which the superpowers seek to raise into an international law. The White House presents the American strike against Libya, the threat of aggression against Syria, Iran and any other country which does not adopt the pro-American political colour, as something moral and legitimate. Moscow also uses the same right to reprisals when it organizes punitive expeditions of its military forces against the people of Afghanistan. In either case, the leaders of the superpowers claim that they are the supreme judges of world affairs, and presume that they have the right to take any punitive measure they like. In either case, they use the fashionable phrase of the «struggle against terrorism», accusing the Libyan people, the Afghan people and

other peoples of «terrorism».

The American and Soviet leaders accompany their charges of terrorism with the public assumption of the role of the international gendarme. The superpowers give themselves the right of deciding whether or not this or that nation and country should exist, to decide on the form of regime and the kind of foreign alliances which the others should form, on the powers and competences of governments and their home and foreign policies. The superpowers give themselves the right to attack this country or that, to dispatch military forces and aircraft, to organize coups d'état and set up mercenary armies, to create their spying agencies and carry out diversion, to give aid or to cease assistance to anyone, to control and dictate the whole political, economic and social life in individual countries or in the world at large.

In one way or the other, they are trying to sanction this unprecedented arrogance.

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The Americans have come out with the doctrine of «neo-globalism», according to which the American interests involve the whole globe and, therefore, any means for their realization is legitimate. Antony Lewis of the «*New York Times*» explains the contents of this doctrine in the following manner, «The main feature of neo-globalism is the achievement of the American interests on the war path.» The Soviets have produced their own variant of «the existence of objective interests which serve the preservation of peace and unity in the world,» which is how *Pravda* put it all through the mouth of the academician Primakov. On the basis of the above-mentioned doctrines, the superpowers have the right to resort to any means — first of all, force is implied, in order to achieve their «global or objective» interests.

All this, translated into plain language, means the domination of the world by them.

One of the characteristics of the arrogance and overbearing of the superpowers is that it affects not only the countries which oppose the American or the Soviet policies, not only small and medium-sized countries, but every country without exception, including even the allies of the two superpowers. Observers have pointed out on different occasions that the joint statement «against terrorism», which the seven industrialized capitalist countries signed at the Tokyo summit, was drafted by the Americans without consulting their allies previously. Similarly, the proposal made some time ago by the Soviet Union for disbanding the two military blocs of Europe, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, was publicized without prior con-

sultation with the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

This kind of conduct in the relations of the superpowers with their allies finds its expression in all fields — economic, political, military, etc. — and the unfortunate thing about the ruling circles in many European countries is that they think they can escape the American arrogance and the Soviet arrogance by approving it when it is directed against other countries. The Party of Labour of Albania has continuously attracted attention to these dangerous developments in the international life. It has stressed the need of putting up a staunch opposition to the aggressive and war-mongering policy of arrogance and overbearing pursued by the two superpowers. The peoples are strong enough to put the superpowers in the strait jacket, and they must do so.

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THE SOVIET-AMERICAN DEMAGOGY ABOUT EUROPEAN SECURITY

«ZERI I POPULLIT»

One of the meetings of the countries of the so-called Conference of European Security ended its proceedings in Berne of Switzerland. Its

agenda included the problem of contacts and collaboration between West Europe and East Europe. The propaganda of the conference of Berne

is an effort to create, among the public opinion in Europe and in the world at large, the impression that «the process of European Security outlined

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and sponsored by the USA and the Soviet Union has entered the good road.»

It was the first time that these problems were taken up for discussion at a special session like that of Berne by the bourgeois and revisionist bourgeoisie, respectively headed by the Americans and the Soviets. After a six-week long debate, charges and countercharges, after many proposals and counterproposals by either side, the meeting of Berne ended in complete failure. This clamorous failure was admitted by the two leading delegations to the conference, both the American and the Soviet delegations, which, as they have always done on such occasions, hastened to lay the blame for this failure on each other.

The European security offered by the American imperialists and the Soviet social -- imperialists, whether in the political and economic aspects or in the military and human aspects, is an expression and contains the purposes of the hegemonic policy which the two superpowers pursue in Europe. The aim of the two superpowers is to legitimate their spheres of influence

on the European continent. They are after the perpetuation of the status quo of their military domination of Europe. This is the «European security» the United States of America and the Soviet Union offer the European peoples. Meanwhile, they strive to disguise their hegemonic policy in Europe, to hide the build-up of their military potential, their missile bases in Europe, etc. They indulge in demagogy about the European security, but both of them are the greatest threat and the main ones to blame for the violation of security in Europe and in the world. The bourgeois and revisionist diplomacy is shouting loudly about «human rights» and human contact in fruitless conferences such as that of Berne, and this is done in order to cover up the reality of the complete lack of human rights in the bourgeois and the revisionist societies.

The failure of the Berne Conference once again revealed the demagogy, of the superpowers about the so-called European security. Once again it showed that the so-called European security, which the American imperialists and the Soviet social-

-imperialists, together with their allies, have been trying to spread by means of their propaganda, is in opposition with the interests of the European peoples. European security and collaboration in all fields and on all problems can develop and advance not through conferences and meetings organized by the two superpowers, but through the common efforts of the European peoples against the policy of interference and the presence of the superpowers on the European continent. The failure of the Berne conference once again showed the correctness of the stand of the PLA, which has described the conference of European security as the conference of European insecurity. For the real security of Europe cannot be imagined without getting rid of the suffocating American and Soviet military presence on our continent. Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out that, «As regards Europe, it must be said that it has begun to become the arena of brutal interference of the two superpowers which behave like real patrons in their spheres of influence and are tightening the screws on their allies more and more.»

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